THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. VIII, No. 4 Summer 1998

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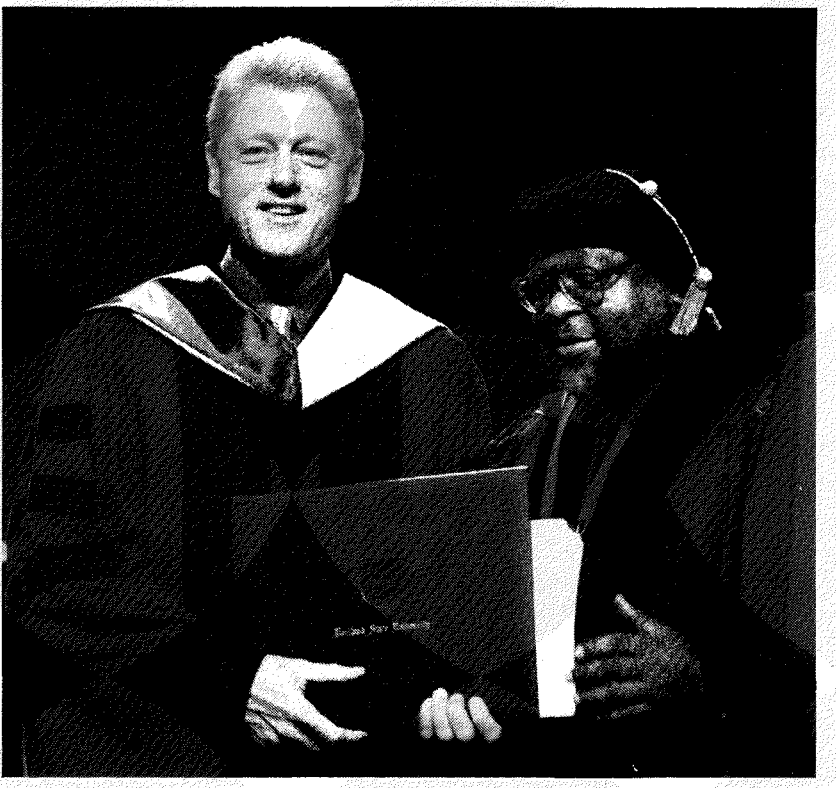

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Portland State University President Daniel Bernstine awards an honorary doctorate to President Clinton during graduation.

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About The Social Contract

The English philosopher John Locke, whose thinking helped inspire the American revolution, said that society should be governed by an understood set of values he termed "the social contract." Under the social contract, governments have obligations to their citizens, and citizens have responsibilities to society.

Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones. What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When "rights" collide, which ones take precedence? The concept of the social contract helps us sort out the difficult issues confronting American society today and helps us find balance.

Each quarter, **The Social Contract** journal examines trends, events and ideas that could unravel America's delicate social fabric. Key topics addressed by this journal:

- *Human population issues, including absolute size, rate of growth and distribution.* Do cherished American ideals prosper or suffer through further population growth?
- *Immigration issues.* In order to best facilitate meeting the highest goals of the American people, (1) how many immigrants should we admit? (2) who should be admitted, and (3) how can we humanely enforce the rules?
- *Language, assimilation, culture and national unity considerations.* What are the shared values necessary to the maintenance of our social contract?
- *The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities.* Since the previous issues are so often framed in terms of rights, what are the balancing obligations?
- *Other nations' efforts at guarding or creating their own social contracts.* What practical insight can be gained from observing the failures and successes in nation-building by other societies?

The Social Contract explores these complex and interrelated issues with articles varying greatly in outlook and philosophy in the attempt to further vigorous public debate.

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Jared Taylor, Editor

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Letter from the Publisher

The Color Line

At the opening of this century W.E.B. DuBois said that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line."[1] At the close of the century President William Jefferson Clinton welcomed the projection that early in the next century U.S. immigration policy, coupled with high immigrant fertility, will reduce the historic white, European-descended majority in the country to minority status. Whether the current majority group will acquiesce in its disenfranchisement, and how any such transition will be managed, will be one of the chief problems of the twenty-first century.

President Clinton's speech clearly brings up the subject of hostility toward and denigration of things European in America. The timing of his speech was fortuitous as we had been at work on this topic for some months with the help of guest editor John Vinson. John is president of the American Immigration Control Foundation.

Many questions about this trend come to mind. Who made the decision to transform the composition of the population of the United States? Where and why was it made? Given the myriad conflicts around the globe where different groups are caged up in the same political boundary, will the projected future of the U.S. be a reasonably peaceful one, or will perpetual conflict be our lot as it is for so many others? How might affirmative action work when there is no majority against whom claims can be made? What in fact has been the origin of the attractive features of our society, to which so many wish to move? And if problems arise, how can they be fixed?

As we have seen in previous issues of *The Social Contract*, powerful forces in our society today discourage cultural adaptation. From South Florida to Southern California, from Northern New Jersey to Northwest Arkansas, it is clear that when mass immigration dramatically changes the racial composition of a community, it dramatically changes the culture as well.

The effect on the majority of Americans is even more pronounced because of the emergence in recent years of an intense movement that is hostile to the European descendants of those who settled and founded this country and to their culture. Thus, the European-derived people of the U.S. would have something very real to fear if they were to become a minority in a country of people who have been taught to hate and fear them. Is there reason to believe that such hostility is immanent? The articles we have included in this issue do not quantify an answer, but they do raise warning signs.

An unwarranted hatred and fear is commonly referred to as a "phobia." For example, unwarranted fear and hatred of immigrants is called "xenophobia." It would follow then that unwarranted hatred and fear of European-descended Americans and their culture could be called "Europhobia."

Europhobia has been little examined in the popular press although the news media often report incidents that might suggest Europhobia. To further this discussion of this phenomenon, guest editor John Vinson has assembled articles and essays that leave little doubt that some Europhobia does exist in the United States. Is that phobia of significant magnitude to warrant concern and action?

Following our feature section, Washington editor, Roy Beck, comments on the Clinton speech. George Wilcox of ZPG/Boston and Jack Martin of the Federation for American Immigration Reform take opposite tacks on Clinton's link-up of race and immigration. Harold Gilliam speaks up for the environment.

The Spring issue of The Social Contract was an extended revisiting of Thomas Robert Malthus' 1798 "Essay on the Principle of Population." We are pleased to reprint articles by Charlie Reese and Georgie Ann Geyer as further discussion of the topic.

I close on a personal note. I have been both editor and publisher of this journal for eight years — this is the thirty-second issue we have brought out. I have also just retired from the practice of ophthalmology after thirty-three years with the same clinic. I'm in the throes of reorganizing my life so I

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can concentrate on some different aspects of the immigration question, chiefly fund-raising and — outside of the tax-deductible structure of *The Social Contract* and its parent foundation (which is called simply: U.S.) — trying to touch off the political phase of the immigration reform movement.

To free up my time for these changes I have appointed Wayne Lutton to the position of editor. Wayne has a Ph.D. in modern history, has followed and participated in the immigration debate for decades, and has been our associate editor for six years. He is well equipped to handle the job.

I have enjoyed the challenge of editing *The Social Contract* and we all look forward to extending its outreach. Wayne Lutton, Roy Beck, Bob Kyser and I are pledged to work with you in the effort to reform America's immigration policy, helping to ensure a brighter future for the coming generations.

JOHN H. TANTON, M.D.
Publisher

[1] *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*, 15th Edition, p.724, no.15.

Introduction by our Guest Editor

Europhobia: The Racism of Anti-racists

by John Vinson

The cry "racism" is still one of the most potent weapons in the verbal arsenal of immigration advocates. Most Americans — especially white Americans — fear the accusation and will do just about anything to avoid being tarred with it. That in itself is proof that they really are not racists in the full sense of the word, i.e., people with irrational hostility toward people of other races.

Yet many white Americans feel considerable unease at the prospect of becoming a minority in a country that traditionally has been European in character and culture. Is it possible for them to argue against this outcome — now looming about five decades away, given current policies of immigration — without being made to feel that they are the sort of bad people that immigration promoters claim they are?

One possible line of argument is that so rapid an ethnic/racial shift would sever America's continuity of heritage and culture and seriously destabilize our country. This is a reasonable position, but many white Americans would decline to voice it for fear it would sound narrowly self-serving, perhaps even a thinly-veiled defense of white supremacy.

What to do? Perhaps the best defense against the cry of racism is a good offense, specifically throwing the charge back in the face of the accuser.

Immigration restrictionists can do so quite honestly and effectively. One could argue that one of the most powerful and virulent examples of racism in America today targets Americans of European descent. While small pathetic bands of Klansmen spew hatred in remote cow pastures, Euro-bashers command many key institutions of society: in the universities, the schools, the media, big business, the bureaucracy, and churches.

Claims of racism against Americans of European descent may strike some readers as unjustified, but to cite one of innumerable examples: the following appeared in *Managing Diversity*, a magazine which government agencies and corporations subscribe to for advice on handling multiethnic workforces. According to author Harris Sussman,

> *In our post-modern vocabulary, 'whites' or 'the white man' is all we need to say to invoke [a] history and experience of injustice and cruelty. When we say 'white people' we mean the people of*

***John Vinson** is president of the American Immigration Control Foundation (AICF).*

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greed who value things over people, who value money over people. We know exactly what their values are and where they lead. We have all paid a terrible price for these values.

A statement which sums up the essential attitude of "Europhobia" was critic Susan Sontag's remark that "the white race is the cancer of civilization." Europhobes, many of whom are white, seem to believe that white people are uniquely flawed and evil, and that their demise (perhaps through immigration) would not be a particular loss. A Europhobic movement in the black community, the Nation of Islam, even goes so far as to pronounce that whites are literally devils.

Ideas have consequences, and Europhobia is no exception. Multiculturalism, which subordinates successful Euro-American culture to dysfunctional Third World cultures, keeps gaining ground against surprisingly weak opposition. White Americans, with a few exceptions, passively accept government-sponsored anti-white discrimination — even that which benefits recently-arrived immigrants.

Europhobes, however, are quick to deny the power of their racism. White males, they maintain, still have the political and economic power in the U.S. And, indeed, they do — or at least a small minority of them do. But more often than not that power serves the interests of Europhobia which, once again, is the reigning prejudice of the key institutions and the whites who run them.

What makes these elites Europhobic? Some of weak mind and character may agree with Ms. Sontag. For others the answer may lie in the psychopathology of self-hatred and far-left politics. Still others in the business community may view Europhobia as a means to financial gain. Possibly they seek to phase out troublesome white workers (and for that matter, blacks too) in favor of docile, low-wage immigrants.

Given the reality of Europhobia and its influence, are average white Americans truly racist when they object to becoming a minority through immigration? If accused of racism, they might reply to the accuser:

"Given the reality of Europhobia and its influence, are average white Americans truly racist when they object to becoming a minority through immigration?"

* * *

"Genuine concern for self-preservation hardly adds up to prejudice."

"In a climate of Europhobia, we have every legitimate reason to fear and resist a substantial racial/ethnic shift. Assimilating non-European immigrants into America's traditional Euro-culture is difficult. Europhobia makes it nearly impossible. As many of the newcomers absorb this hostility, European-Americans will face increasing tension, discrimination, and perhaps physical danger. We are under no moral obligation to accept these risks either for ourselves or our children.

"American society now grants all racial minorities the right to organize on their own behalf. As Euro-Americans become minorities in states heavily impacted by immigration — and eventually the whole country — you will have no moral ground for objecting when we follow their examples.

"If you wish to change the make-up of America, the burden of proof should be on you to show that racism, i.e., Europhobia, is not your real motive for pushing this almost unprecedented social gamble."

Supporters of open immigration may take offense at these statements and demands, but they will be hard-pressed to dismiss them out-of-hand. If they refuse to reply, or fall back on the usual tactic of shouting "racism", reasonable people will begin to wonder who the real racists are. Genuine concern for self-preservation hardly adds up to prejudice. TSC

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A Europhobia Sampler

I want to see America stay a nation of immigrants. And if we lose our Northern Europe stock — your coloring and mine, blue eyes and fair hair — tough!
– Robert Dornan, former congressman

[Whiteness] is the empty and therefore terrifying attempt to build an identity on what one isn't, and on whom one can hold back.
– David Roediger, social historian, University of Minnesota.

You must kill. To shoot down a European is to kill two birds with one stone, to destroy an oppressor and the man he oppresses at the same time: there remains a dead man a free man.
– Jean Paul Sartre, philosopher.

There is no possibility of a positive white identity.
– Noel Ignatiev, Harvard lecturer.

Treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity.... The key to solving the social problems of our age is to abolish the white race.
—*Race Traitor* magazine

Civil rights laws were not passed to protect the rights of white males and do not apply to them.
— Mary Frances Berry, Chairwoman, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

[Proposition] 187 [the measure to cut public benefits to illegal aliens] is the last gasp of white Americans in California.
— Art Torres, Chairman, California Democratic Party.

We have left the time when the non-white non-European part of our population could be expected to assimilate to the dominant majority. In the future, the white Western majority will have do some assimilation of its own.
— Martha Riche, former director of U.S. Census Bureau.

We should migrate North in the millions, legally or illegally.... Masses of Asians and Africans should inundate Europe and America.
— Dr. Mahathir, Prime Minister of Malaysia.

[America can live] without in effect having a dominant European culture.
—William Clinton, President of the United States.

Hey, hey, ho, ho, Western culture's got to go.
— Chant of students at Stanford University.

I am a male WASP who attended and succeeded at Choate preparatory school, Yale college, Yale Law School, and Princeton Graduate School.... my lifelong habit of ... thinking as honestly as possible has led me to see that white, male-dominated, Western, European culture is the most destructive phenomenon in the known history of the planet.... It is deeply hateful of life and committed to death; ... And truly it deserves to die.
— Benjamin Hopkins, in a letter to *Mother Jones* magazine.

[White businessmen] don't have the emotional capacity it takes to qualify as human beings. The one good thing about these white, male, almost-extinct mammals is that they are growing old. We get to watch them die.
— Female business executive, quoted in *TIME* magazine.

California is going to be a Hispanic state. We are going to control all the institutions. If people don't like it, they should leave.
— Mario Obledo, president, California Coalition of Hispanic Organizations

I don't care about your idiot children.
— Willie Brown, mayor, San Francisco
[to a white critic complaining that affirmative action would penalize his children]

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Open Borders Shrink U.S. European Population

by Don Feder

America is slipping through our fingers. The America of the '50s, of my boyhood, is no more than a nostalgic memory. Twenty years hence, will the America of the 1990s seem idyllic compared to the murderous multicultural trailer park that then constitutes our disintegrating nation?

It was one of those soft-news stories that *The New York Times* assumes will charm its readers but to which normal people react with less than elation.

"Ramadan Becomes an Extracurricular Subject," read the headline. "As new immigrants swell the numbers of Muslims in New York City, the rites of ... Islam's holiest period have quietly seeped into the culture of the city's schools."

At John Jay High School, administrators announce the onset of Ramadan on the public address system. Apparently it is only official recognition of *Western* religion that threatens church-state separation.

"Islam is said to be the fastest-growing faith in America," the *Times* discloses.

How we are enriched by the quaint customs of newcomers! On March 29, a little publicized federal law will go into effect that criminalizes the practice of genital mutilation of women under 18, a practice prevalent in 28 African nations. According to the Centers for Disease Control, there are 150,000 girls and women of African descent in this country who have been or are in danger of being so maimed.

In Lincoln, Nebraska, two Iraqis are under arrest for marrying sisters, ages 13 and 14. An account in *Newsweek* notes such marriages are common in Moslem countries. Since we are informed that America must now adapt to immigrants (instead of the reverse), perhaps we should abolish our culturally insensitive laws against statutory rape.

More than 50,000 members of the Caribbean Santeria cult have immigrated to South Florida, where they are enhancing the state's diversity by sacrificing chickens, goats and other small animals to voodoo rituals.

Whenever I write about immigration, indignant communications pour in accusing me of stigmatizing today's immigrants in the same way that my xenophobic precursors degraded and dehumanized earlier waves of Irish, Italian and Jewish immigrants.

Equating immigrants of the 1890s and the 1990s is a soothing myth. The old immigrants actually had things in common with the American majority of their day.

The aforementioned groups were European. Two were Christian; the third practiced the religion from which Christianity sprang. All came from societies that respected law and had common concepts of justice, liberty and individual responsibility.

The Jews gave the world the Bible. Irish monks preserved Western civilization during the Dark Ages. Italy was the embodiment of the Renaissance.

Over 90 percent of new immigrants are non-white. Many come from caudillo cultures where corruption is pervasive. Most have a *mañana* work ethic. Their customs and traditions are as alien to our own as sushi to kosher cuisine.

Increasingly, they see themselves as a bloc (people of color — pink doesn't count) arrayed against white Americans. In California last year, Asians — our model minority — voted by a 55 percent margin to maintain the state's system of anti-white discrimination.

Due in large part to our open-borders style of national suicide, America's European population will shrink from 73.6 percent today to 52.8 percent in 2050.

What kind of America will your children and grandchildren

Don Feder is a nationally syndicated columnist. This item is © 1997 by Creators Syndicate and is reprinted by permission.

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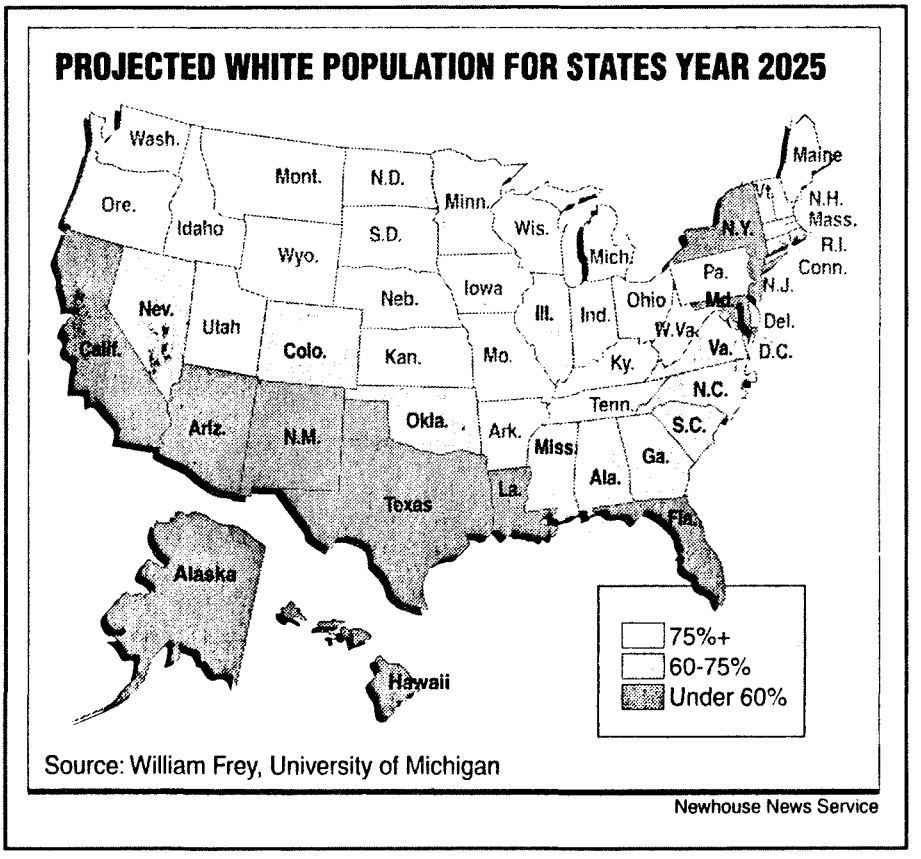
inherit — the multiculturalists' delusion of Diversity Disney World where a rainbow of smiling faces celebrates their differences, or Rwanda with high-tech machetes?

I'd rather read about voodoo rites than have my next-door neighbors practice them. I'll willingly forego more ethnic restaurants for telephone operators who speak my language. The knowledge that America's fastest-growing religion is one that oppresses all others wherever it achieves power does not comfort me.

In 1993, the Sierra Club published a coffee-table book called *Endangered Peoples* covering such exotic topics as the Tuareg of North Africa and the Amazon's Yanomami tribe.

Neglected is a group on the brink of extinction that actually made a contribution to civilization — the Americans. As for the Tuareg and the Yanomami, they'll all be here in a few years. TSC



In a special series on America's changing population — changes due to rapid mass immigration — Jonathan Tilove of Newhouse News Service asked if a dominant culture is needed to bind a country. The question is an important one since by the year 2050 there will be no majority ethnic group in the United States. As Tilove writes:

> *By the middle of the next century, a nation conceived by white people and for white people will be, according to the best estimates, less than half white. As white skin or European ancestry dims as a beacon of American identity, belief in the so-called American creed is left shining as the single generally agreed-upon expression of that identity. But will a shared faith in freedom, justice and opportunity be enough to bind a nation no longer in the sway of its historic racial majority?*
>
> *These are questions of race and national identity that will be contested in both the public sphere — in battles over what holidays to celebrate and how history should be taught — and in the individual hearts, minds and psyches of Americans...*

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Whose Future?

Projections of a non-white America

by Samuel Francis

In 1992, the U.S. Census Bureau released a projection that by the year 2050, non-Hispanic whites will be on the eve of becoming a minority in the United States. Although the bureau's exact projections vary according to the assumptions used, its report argues that the transition to a non-white majority country for the first time in American history will be due to continuing high levels of non-white immigration coupled with the persistence of low fertility rates among whites and high rates among non-whites. The bureau's projections, reported as front page news in both *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*, have excited little attention in the several years since they first appeared, and there has been virtually no expressed desire on the part of American political leaders to halt or slow the transition. Indeed, on both the right and the left, among both Republicans and Democrats, the transition appears to be inconsequential. Thus, on the right wing of the Republican Party, former Rep. Robert Dornan, who opposed illegal but supported legal immigration, commented in 1996 that the prospect of a non-white majority in the United States made no difference to him. "I want to see America stay a nation of immigrants," he remarked, "and if we lose our Northern European stock — your coloring and mine, blue eyes and fair hair — tough!" Soon after his statement, Mr. Dornan lost his seat to a Democratic rival who emphasized her Hispanic identity.

While Mr. Dornan's views of immigration and the projected racial transformation of the country reflect the pro-immigration ideology common among libertarians and neo-conservatives, President Bill Clinton has actually expressed pleasure at the prospect of a non-white majority and the cultural changes it will bring. On June 11, 1997, Mr. Clinton stated in an interview with a group of black columnists that the change from a white to a non-white majority "will arguably be the third great revolution in America ... to prove that we literally can live without in effect having a dominant European culture. We want to become a multiracial, multiethnic society. We're not going to disintegrate in the face of it."

The "so what" or actually positive response of both the right and the left to the prospect of a non-white majority proceeds from the underlying assumption shared by both shades of the political spectrum that race in itself is virtually meaningless, a matter of mere gross morphology and pigmentation, and that race carries no implications for personality, character, intelligence, or behavior. That, after all, has been the established scientific consensus about race since the early twentieth century, although an increasing amount of scientific research publicized by scientists and scholars such as Charles Murray and the late Richard Herrnstein, J. Philippe Rushton, Richard Lynn, Arthur Jensen, Michael Levin, and others is beginning to challenge it. Yet even if their conclusions are not firmly established or accepted, race, at least in a subjective sense, does carry implications for culture, if only because most human beings acquire their culture through their biological parents, with whom they also share a genetic inheritance. Culture, then, even if it is not determined or directly shaped by race, is at least carried by race or to a large extent runs parallel to it, and the possibility cannot be ignored that a comparatively rapid and dramatic change in the racial composition of a society will also involve a major cultural change as well.

In the case of the United States, there can be little doubt that the racial transition projected for the middle of the next century will also be a significant cultural transition (as indeed, Mr. Clinton, if not his counterparts on the right, seems to appreciate). The history of the United States is intimately connected to racial conflict, perhaps more

***Samuel Francis, Ph.D.**, is a nationally-syndicated columnist and a frequent contributor to* The Social Contract.

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so than that of any other historically white society in the world, and the legacy of these conflicts — over black slavery, the conquest of the American Indians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the annexation of Mexican territory in the mid-nineteenth century, the importation of Asian labor and the mass immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe in the late nineteenth century, the civil rights movement, and the current controversies over race, affirmative action, and immigration itself — will surely inform the relations among white, black, yellow, and brown Americans in the coming century.

Moreover, at least as significant as the racial transition itself is the perceptible emergence in the last decade or so of an explicitly racial consciousness among an increasing number of non-whites, even as white leaders like Mr. Clinton and Mr. Dornan renounce the meaning and importance of race and as white scientists and commentators who discuss it are ostracized or punished. But the late sociologist Robert A. Nisbet perceived the emergence of race as a vehicle of radical and revolutionary action as early as 1973 in his history of social thought, *The Social Philosophers*. "In our day," Nisbet wrote, "color has come close to replacing nationality and economic class as the major setting for revolutionary thrust, strategy, tactics, and also philosophy.... racial revolution as an aspiration is becoming increasingly separate from other philosophies or strategies of revolution."

This racial consciousness is perhaps most apparent among black Americans, who in large numbers idolize leaders like Louis Farrakhan and the Rev. Al Sharpton that are regarded as extremists or crackpots by most whites. Black racial consciousness is also obvious in events such as the glamorization of O.J. Simpson after his acquittal in the trial for the murder of his white ex-wife; in black voting behavior; and in various manifestations of black popular culture and entertainment, as well as in an increasingly explicit rejection among blacks of the ostensibly integrationist and egalitarian ideals of the civil rights movement and in black support for segregated dormitories and student centers on college campuses; exclusively black clubs, fraternities, and professional associations; academic curricula like Afrocentrism and "critical race studies" that focus on blacks per se and their achievements and victimization by whites; and the popularization of explicitly racialist theories that identify blacks as a superior group and whites as inherently repressive, aggressive, and exploitative toward non-whites. In 1990, according to a *CBS-New York Times* poll, 25 percent of black Americans believed the U.S. government was deliberately supplying drugs to blacks to destroy them, while 30 percent believed the government had deliberately invented AIDS to kill blacks, and 80 percent believed there existed a racist plot to discredit black elected leaders or that such a plot was possible.

"...as significant as the racial transition itself is the perceptible emergence ... of an explicitly racial consciousness among an increasing number of non-whites..."

Blacks, however, are not the only non-white minority to acquire, voice, and increasingly legitimize a racial consciousness. Hispanic Americans also appear to be following the same course, especially in increasingly Hispanic parts of the United States where Hispanics (largely of Mexican extraction) can expect to become the ethnic majority well before the middle of the next century. While the term "Hispanic" is properly a linguistic term, the Mexican and Amerindian background of most American Hispanics lends itself to a racial identity, and the very opposition to immigration manifested in the movement for Proposition 187 in California in 1994 appears to have helped instigate the articulation of an explicitly racial-nationalist ideology among Hispanics in that state and throughout the Southwestern United States.

Public statements from Hispanic political leaders frequently invoke an Hispanic racial-national solidarity. Thus, Joe Baca, a member of the California State Assembly, said in January, 1995, "We need more Latinos out there. We must stand up and be counted! We must be united! We must be together! We must be united! Because if we're not united, you know what's going to happen? We're like sticks, we're broken in pieces. Divided, we're not

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together." Similarly, Gloria Molina, Los Angeles County Supervisor, said in June, 1996, "Tonight Latinos across this country are coming together and they are shouting one thing — we are united. And we are united because we want to demand the kind of political respect that we should have." Richard Alatorre of the Los Angeles City Council also does not hesitate to broadcast his Hispanic identity and his political intentions. "Because our numbers are growing," he told an Hispanic audience in September, 1996, "they're afraid of what this great mass of minorities that now live in our communities — they're afraid that we're going to take over the governmental institutions and other institutions. They're right, we will take them over, and we are not going to go away, we are here to stay, and we are saying ya basta (enough now)...." The rise of Hispanic racial nationalism in the United States is in fact facilitated by the demographic transition predicted for the next century. Thus, Jose Angel Gutierrez, a professor at the University of Texas at Arlington and a founder of "Chicano nationalism," said in January, 1995, "Group ascendancy. Why in order for us to have a homeland must we give up our Mexican-ness and become white-like? Why? Hostages in our land. Prisoners of war. We are millions. We just have to survive. We have an aging White America. They are not making babies. They are dying. It's a matter of time. The explosion is in our population."

It is true that these kinds of sentiments may not reflect the views of most American Hispanics, and advocates of high levels of immigration often claim that those who voice them are merely extremists who will be isolated and shunned as Hispanic immigrants assimilate. In the 1960s, when "Mexican irredentism" and supporters of "Aztlan" first started appearing, that claim was perhaps arguable, but thirty years later the assertion of Hispanic racial nationalism and solidarity is stronger than ever. Moreover, as the statements cited above suggest, these sentiments are being voiced by elected officials in major local and state institutions of government. Presumably those who utter them believe that their expressions do not harm their political careers and goals, and thus far there is little to indicate that such statements have harmed them.

In addition, Hispanic racial-national solidarity is not confined to academic blowhards and political windbags. A recent series in *The Washington Post* quoted a working-class Mexican immigrant, Maria Jacinto, who acknowledged that she does not regard herself as an American. "I think I'm still a Mexican," she told reporter William Branigin. "When my skin turns white and my hair turns blonde, then I'll be an American," and she refers to Americans in general as the "gueros," a Spanish slang word that means "blondies." The racial content of her national identity is obvious.

This kind of Hispanic racial nationalism is also embedded in the multiculturalist curricula of many schools, pushed by radical Hispanic organizations like MEChA (an explicitly separatist organization, *Movemiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan*, or "Chicano Student Movement of Aztlan"), and taught by racially conscious teachers to their students. Last winter, two teachers in New Mexico, Patsy and Nadine Cordova, were fired by the local school board for teaching what the board called "racism" and which was in fact a view of American history that portrayed whites as exploiters and tyrants and "Chicanos" as innocent victims. As Eduardo Hernandez Chavez, director of Chicano Studies at the University of New Mexico, remarked to *The Washington Post* (February 6, 1998) in defending the Cordova sisters' teaching, "How can you teach about Chicanos and our culture and our place in American society without teaching about conquest and repression and subjugation?" The idea of white repression and subjugation of Hispanics is thus inherent to Hispanic studies as it is taught in American education today. At least one of the Cordova sisters' students seems to have taken her lessons to heart. "I'm a Chicano," she told the *Post*. "I consider myself to be more than just an American."

The ethnic identity that is emerging among Hispanic immigrants as well as among black Americans is not the same sort of identity that leads Irish-Americans to celebrate St. Patrick's Day or Polish-Americans to dance polkas. It is not merely an enthusiasm for ethnic roots and the observance of traditional customs, but rather a militant and all-encompassing identity that excludes and conflicts with traditional American allegiances, institutions, and values and explicitly identifies whites as a racially alien enemy, an oppressor, whose institutions are to be taken over and whose race is to be expelled from

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territories that whites stole in the Mexican-American War.

While some contemporary exponents of these racial ideologies may sound extreme, the basic assumptions of the ideology seem to be widely shared by many non-whites, and it is predictable that the leaders who formulate and voice these views will have no compelling reason to abandon them as white leaders express indulgence or indifference and as non-white numbers continue to rise. Racial consciousness and political and cultural solidarity vastly augment the political power of both black and Hispanic minorities and have been responsible for most of the political gains of these communities. Hispanic solidarity against immigration reform has already played a major role in causing even conservative Republicans to back away from the issue entirely, to reverse their earlier congressional votes against welfare and food stamps eligibility for immigrants, and to pass legislation for making Puerto Rico a state. Black opposition to ending affirmative action has also induced Republicans to avoid that issue and actually to defeat legislation abolishing affirmative action in federal education policy.

"...there is every reason to believe that the new non-white majority will emerge as a racially conscious population and that its outspoken and transparent animosity to whites will remain a major component of its consciousness in the future."

Given the prospect of a non-white demographic majority emerging at some point in the next fifty to sixty years, given the rewards that racial consciousness and solidarity have already brought non-white minorities, and given the unwillingness of white leaders of either the left or the right to resist non-white solidarity (let alone invoke white racial consciousness as a counter-balance), there is every reason to believe that the new non-white majority will emerge as a racially conscious population and that its outspoken and transparent animosity to whites will remain a major component of its consciousness in the future.

Whites therefore need to ask themselves what will be their own future in a country in which for the first time they will be a minority. The logical projection of that future is that whites will increasingly find themselves subjected to discrimination and even persecution by a non-white majority raised to believe — through education, through political and other public rhetoric, and through their own folklore — that whites are an evil enemy who at least in the past dominated and exploited non-whites. We can anticipate, on the basis of contemporary trends, what some of the forms of anti-white discrimination and persecution might be.

COURTROOM DISCRIMINATION

It is increasingly common among black jurors to acquit black defendants because of their common racial identity, a habit that became notorious after the acquittal of O.J. Simpson in 1995, when blacks throughout the United States fervently expressed their belief that Simpson was innocent of the murder of his white ex-wife and her white friend, Ron Goldman. Public opinion polls showed that some 60 percent of black Americans believed in Simpson's innocence, despite the presentation of evidence of his guilt that most whites found convincing, and the indications are that at least one black juror was swayed to vote for his acquittal simply out of racial identity and animosity toward whites. Thus, juror Brenda Moran, in an interview with the press just after the verdict, was quick to dismiss any evidence deriving from police detective Mark Fuhrman because she "couldn't believe anything" he said after he was accused of racial prejudice against blacks. She also dismissed evidence of Simpson's beating of his wife as a motive for the murder on the grounds that "this is a murder trial, not domestic abuse." Though she was quick to dismiss evidence from Detective Fuhrman, she told the press, "I know O.J. Simpson didn't do it."

The Simpson case is not an isolated one. In 1992, a white aide to U.S. Sen. Richard Shelby of Alabama was murdered in the District of Columbia, and a black suspect, Edward Evans, was arrested and tried. Evans received a mistrial when a black juror refused to convict him and rejected all evidence against the defendant, whom she publicly embraced

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afterwards. Similarly, in 1994, black defendant Davon Neverdon was acquitted of murder by a Baltimore jury containing 11 blacks despite the testimony of four eye witnesses that they saw him kill the victim. The twelfth juror, an Asian-American, told the judge afterwards, "Race may be playing some part" in the jury's decision.

Soon after the Simpson verdict, *The Wall Street Journal* published a lengthy front-page story detailing many similar cases across the country in which black jurors have apparently voted for acquittal on the basis of the race of the defendant. Indeed, some advocates of "critical race theory," like Professor Paul Butler of George Washington Law School, argue that black drug defendants should be acquitted because "criminal conduct among African Americans is often a predictable reaction to oppression" and therefore not really a crime.

The converse of acquitting black defendants on the basis of their race is convicting white defendants on the basis of theirs, and this too is not unknown today. Detroit police officers Larry Nevers and Walter Budzyn were sentenced to prison terms after the death of black suspect Malice Green in their custody, and racial animosity appears to have played a strong role in their trial and conviction. Yale sociology professor Wendell Bell argues that since there are more blacks in prisons than there are whites, we need to lock up more whites to balance the prison population. "More whites and middle- and upper-class persons must be sent to prison to correct the existing disproportionality, while members of groups now overrepresented in prison must be allowed to leave or be admitted at lower rates of entry," he writes.

CRIME

At the present time, some 25 percent of the federal prison population is composed of immigrants, suggesting a fairly high level of crime among the immigrant population in general, while blacks commit more than half of all rapes and robberies and 60 percent of all murders in the United States, despite the fact that blacks presently compose only 12 percent of the total population and Hispanics approximately 9 percent. There seems to be no reason to suppose that such disproportionate crime rates will diminish as the respective ethnic groups increase in number relative to whites. Moreover, statistical evidence indicates that blacks are more likely to victimize whites as crime targets than other blacks, and it is arguable that this tendency is intentional on the part of black criminals. It is therefore hardly unreasonable to believe that a non-white majority United States will be a country in which merely being white invites criminal attack and that in a court system dominated by non-white juries and judges and perhaps animated by active anti-white racial animosity, white victims will find justice far more difficult to obtain than they do today.

PERSECUTION

If the political system of the U.S. in the next century continues to reflect majority rule, then we can expect not only state and local governments but also the national government to be dominated by the non-white majority. No doubt there will be white enclaves in some parts of the country that will continue to consist of white majorities and may actually send white representatives to Congress, but white congressional leaders would probably be a minority. Given the unabashed racial nationalism now commonplace among Hispanic and black political leaders and the animosity exhibited toward whites, it would not be unreasonable to predict the outright political and racial persecution of whites as the political power of non-whites becomes entrenched. Indeed, historian William McNeill has argued that what he calls "ethnic hierarchy" — the domination of some ethnic groups by another — has been the norm throughout most of human history, and only in the white majority United States of the late 20th century has a dominant ethnic group (whites) expressed any concern for the political equality of other ethnicities. The emergence of outright ethnic, national, religious, and racial conflicts in the Balkans, Eastern Europe, Southeast Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa since the end of the Cold War suggests an impending return to "ethnic hierarchy" and an abandonment of the American deviation from it in the last few decades. Whatever the degree of non-white dispossession and persecution in a non-white future, it is clear that the white minority will be entirely dependent on the non-white majority for continued respect for its constitutional rights and liberties.

CULTURE

As suggested at the beginning of this article, race at least tends to carry culture if it does not determine or shape it, and already the indications of

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anti-white rejection of traditional American cultural symbols and the construction of non-white symbols in their place is obvious. The rejection of traditional normative English is apparent in the emergence of "Black English" and "Ebonics," while Hispanics and other immigrant communities increasingly seem to reject and resent having to learn English as a means of assimilating into American society. As Peter Brimelow has reported in *Forbes*, the 1990 census found that there are nearly five million individuals under the age of five in the country who say they cannot speak English well, and these are not immigrants but native-born Americans who are children of immigrants. "As they move up the age pyramid," Brimelow writes, "development of permanent foreign-language enclaves appears inevitable." Language, of course, is one of the primary bonds of a nation-state, but the cultural bonds of nationhood extend well beyond it.

"...development of permanent language enclaves appears inevitable."
— Peter Brimelow

In 1997 a largely black public school in New Orleans removed the name of George Washington from its building on the grounds that the first President of the United States was a slaveowner. While Washington was a slaveowner and a Southerner, he is also clearly a national icon as well, and the decision to remove his name represents a movement to a new stage in the reconstruction of the nation from one confined to attacking explicitly Confederate symbols to attacking national ones.

In any case, the black-engineered attack on Southern symbols is paralleled by Hispanic attacks on analogous symbols of white American culture in California and the Southwest. In 1994 the city of San Jose, California, voted to construct a large statue of the Aztec god Quetzalcoatl in its public square and rejected a proposal to build a statue to Col. Thomas Fallon, who claimed the city for the United States in 1846. "I think it's going to be part of the blend that we Mexican people really are," the city Housing Commissioner, Sofia Mendoza, stated with regard to the statue. The "blend," apparently, is of Mexican and Aztec and not American. In San Francisco, a statue showing an Indian kneeling before a Franciscan friar that had stood in front of the City Hall for nearly a century was removed, and its placement in another location was protested by American Indians on the grounds that it failed to show the truth about white Christian exploitation of the Indians in the history of the state. The American Indian Movement Confederation complained that the statue "symbolizes the humiliation, degradation, genocide and sorrow inflicted upon this country's indigenous people by a foreign invader, through religious persecution and ethnic prejudice." In Espanola, New Mexico, a statue of Spanish conquistador Don Juan de Onate was bombed in 1998 by Indian activists because it symbolized Spanish (European) conquest of the Indian population. Among the lessons that the Cordova sisters were teaching in their courses on Chicano history in New Mexico were that California and the Southwest were illegally and aggressively seized from Mexico by the United States, that the Texas Rangers had "tortured and killed thousands of Mexicans," and that David Crockett, hero of the Alamo, boasted of eating potatoes "fried in fat from Indian bodies." The obvious purpose of such teaching is to inculcate in students hostility toward the United States as a nation and its majority white population. The teaching, moreover, is not confined to non-white students; it is also directed at white students in order to induce guilt, and discredit any positive association with their own racial and national identities. In a country in which whites will be a minority, there is no reason to expect that symbols, statues, songs, heroes, historic events, or language associated with the new minority race will continue to be accorded special respect or observance. Since these symbols and icons provide a significant amount of the cultural cohesion on which the American nation is built, their disappearance and discrediting will in itself constitute a deliberate destruction of the American national identity as it has been known throughout its history. While this kind of deliberate attack on traditional American symbols was controversial briefly in the 1980s and early 1990s, it seems to be so no longer. Indeed, conservative and Republican leaders, who voiced most of the criticism

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of these trends, are now silent, and last spring the chairman of the Republican Party in California, Michael Schroeder, told *The Washington Times*, "If we get into a debate about the superiority of one culture over another, then we end up being perceived as harsh, racist and out of touch." As immigration continues to alter the national population and as immigrants continue to develop and mobilize on the basis of their own national and racial identity, political and public resistance to the demands of their racial nationalism will become increasingly difficult.

The racial transition to a non-white majority country, what Peter Brimelow has called America's "ethnic revolution," will therefore be considerably more than an alteration in the national skin color. Every indication suggests that it will also be a profound political and cultural revolution, the consequences of which most white Americans have not even begun to think about or anticipate.

What kind of future?

A number of questions about the future of whites arise: Will whites be able to receive a fair trial when charged with criminal acts against a non-white? Will they be able to gain justice against non-white criminals who victimize them and their homes and families? Will crime cartels based in Colombia, Mexico, or Macao be the powers behind the public thrones of the American future, dictating political, legal, and economic decisions according to their own interests? Will whites' rights to property and to freedom of expression, religion, assembly, and political participation be respected? Will they be able to teach their children according to the values and standards of their ancestors? Will those ancestors and their achievements be truthfully represented in education and the mass media, or will they be subjected to continuous debunking and ridicule as villains, tyrants, and fools? Will whites be able to compete in schools, colleges, universities and the job market with non-whites who enjoy special privileges through affirmative action, quotas, and set-asides? Will the aging white population receive the Social Security and Medicare benefits that a younger and less-white working population generates? Will non-whites continue to preserve the economic and technological infrastructure of the country and its natural environment and resources or will they, as most non-white societies do now, neglect and waste them? Will even the basic constitutional form of government and the moral norms on which it rests persist, or will a Latin American or Third World political pattern alternating between anarchy, corruption, and despotism become typical? Will immigrants from Third World societies leave their political allegiances and hostilities behind, or will they import them to shape American politics, with persistent antagonisms between Hutu and Tutsi, Arab and Jew, Hindu and Muslim, etc.? Will the work ethic, a cultural legacy of Northern European civilization, persist, or will it give way to a new economic ethic typical of undeveloped economies, of subsistence work habits by the poor and conspicuous consumption by the wealthy few? Will the immigrant population shun welfare or will it, as it has to date, become more dependent on welfare than native-born Americans? Will the aesthetic values of Western literature, art, and music persist in their traditional art forms, and will the Western scientific world-view persist, based on centuries of Western belief in the existence of objective truth, logical reasoning, and empirical verification, or will it vanish before the imported magical cults of Santeria, voodoo, and the fatalistic and often nihilistic religious systems of the East? Will even the basic political and territorial unity of the United States persist, or will it crumble as each distinct culture, race, ethnicity, and tribe stakes out its own territory as a separate state? White Americans — especially those who boast that unlimited immigration from the Third World will surely result in more fast food employees and more software companies — have not even begun to ask these questions, let alone answer them seriously.

Of course, these questions don't have to be asked and the "ethnic revolution" doesn't have to happen. If immigration were halted now, if political and public leaders would defend their own culture and their own people, if the calculated subversion of Western and traditional American civilization were simply forbidden, the transition to a non-white nation (if "nation" is the right word) could be stopped or at least slowed to the point where some degree of assimilation could take place. But until white Americans and those non-whites willing to support them have the courage to defend themselves and their future, the future they will get is unlikely to be theirs. TSC

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'La Raza'

Numbers matter in the push for hegemony

by Diana Hull

The coming numerical dominance of California's burgeoning Latino population was confirmed by the Census Bureau in July 1997. In 42 years, only 13.8 percent of Los Angeles County will be white and 69.1 percent will be Latino — a consequence of two amnesties for three million illegal aliens, sieve-like borders, and the high levels of legal immigration that have made Los Angeles the second largest Mexican city in the world.

"Latinos" indicates Central and South Americans; the word "Hispanic" is generic. Radical leftists of the 1960s gave "Chicano" a new defiant meaning and proclaimed Mexican-Americans heirs to Aztlan, the mythical homeland of the Aztec people.

The predicted demographic shift from minority to majority status is a triumph for Chicano activism and brings vast new political opportunities for its leadership. But the literal "retaking" of California pales in comparison to its symbolic value — the long-awaited return of those "illegally annexed territories" which the Chicano movement claims were stolen from their indigenous forebears in 1848, by the occupying forces of the United States, after the Treaty of Guadelupe-Hidalgo.

The passage of California's Proposition 187 was the first major obstacle in the path of this "reconquista" movement, and in response, after the election, 400 Latino leaders held a summit conference at the University of California at Riverside. The participants were Hispanic elected officials and the Hispanic press, university faculty and students from Texas and Arizona as well as California, and the leadership of the major Hispanic organizations.

At the opening session, the campus director of the Ernesto Galarza Public Policy Institute announced the good news about the "browning of America" and the "transfer of power" to the new California Latino majority.

The uniformed "Brown Berets of Aztlan" stood shoulder to shoulder along the walls of the meeting room; Mexican flags were flying and student tee shirts bore the message, "We don't need no stinking green cards." Benicio Silva of UC Berkeley declared that having to show them at the border was a "violation of our human rights" because "Aztlan is ours and the white man is the invader."

"They say we're 'Latinizing' Los Angeles! Don't you love it?" boomed fiery orator Jose Angel Gutierrez, long-time University of Texas faculty member. "We are fighting to build a new Mestizo nation," he shouted, "*in this*, our historic homeland for *for-ty thou-sand years*."

At that, the Brown Berets raised their fists in the air and the excited crowd screamed "Chicano Power" and began stomping and clapping with the familiar two-three beat: clap-clap, clap-clap-clap. "We are here again," Gutierrez continued, "we are millions and millions, and the aging white Americans are not making babies, we've got to get ready to govern!"

Adaljisa Sosa-Riddell, of the Chicano Research Center at the University of California at Davis, said the best preparation for governance was training the youth, and demanded more Chicano Studies programs because, according to Gloria Romero, Professor of Chicano Studies at Loyola Marymount University, "a classroom is just another place to organize."

The members of MEChA (*Movimiento Estudiantil Chicanos de Aztlan*) student group, that sponsored the Riverside Conference, were products of this curriculum, by which young Chicanos learn they are victims of "genocide" and "ethnocide" and belong to an oppressed people, stripped of their land, language and culture.

Art Torres, state chair of the California Democratic Committee, assured the audience that the much-hated Proposition 187, limiting

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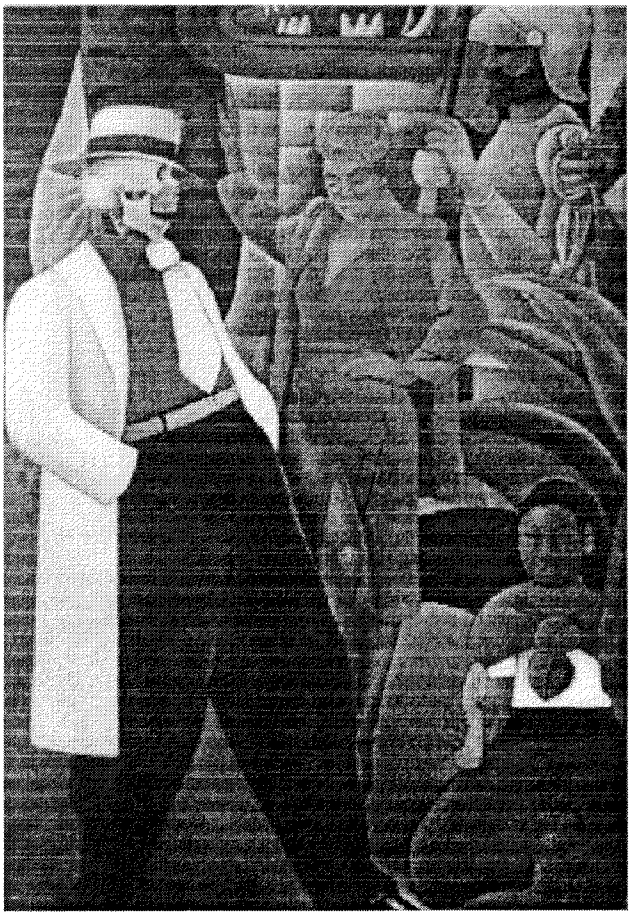
government benefits to illegal aliens, was the "last gasp of white America," and Herman Baca, founder of the Committee on Chicano Rights said that "we are going to win — and take our rightful place as owners of this land."

The land he was talking about includes California, the Southwest, and the western United States as far north as Oregon and Washington — all of it claimed by the make-believe state of Aztlan whose reclaiming serves as a rallying cry for the irredentist movement, and a justification for the continuing northward migration and the illegitimacy of the U.S. border with Mexico.

The "stolen lands" theme is a favored tool of insurgency. It politicizes Palestinian boys of the Hezbollah and Hamas and it is meant to incite, in Hispanic youth, the same resentment and desire for vengeance.

Most Americans do not understand the character and reach of the Chicano movement, and Chicano activists want it that way, because the leadership model for their "street fighter" troops is the use of threatening hyperbole and anti-white "hate talk."

Having an enemy promotes "in-group" loyalty, which *must* be maintained to counter the attractions of American society. Young people are particularly vulnerable to "defection" and the future of the movement depends on their ties to "La Raza."



"Whitey" portrayed as "Dead Man Walking" in "Dia de los Muertos" (Day of the Dead) in Mexican folklore art. Taken from the website of El Centro Chicano at Stanford University.

The major Hispanic organizations, like MALDEF (Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund), LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens) and the National Council of la Raza are understandably protective of their influence in the highest government circles. Because of the prestige and sponsorship of the Ford Foundation, their leaders sit on the boards of major non-profit organizations and private corporations and serve on federal boards and commissions. Therefore security is tight when they reveal their racist face at a militant meeting like the one at UC Riverside.

In December 1996, another MEChA-sponsored conference, at Cal State Northridge, began with the shouts of "*Chi-ca-no" then "Chi-ca-na*" — each word belted out, first from the podium, then from the audience. Emotions were high by the time Professor Rudy Acuña, author of *Occupied America*, got up to speak. He warned hundreds of students and their immigrant parents about "being taken to the intellectual ovens," and told them they live "in the Nazi United States of America."

When parents are not around his language gets rougher. He explained at a student meeting in Santa Barbara that "the University of California is not going to change unless we beat the shit out of them, and that is what we are going to do." (In 1996 Professor Acuña won a discrimination lawsuit against the university and received $326,000.)

Acuña is a tenured full professor at Cal State

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Northridge and author of *Occupied America*, the third best selling text in Harper and Row's college division. He has spent the past 22 years building the largest Chicano Studies department in the nation, and claims that one third of the academic deans in the California system have come out of his program. Professor Acuña likes to compare U.S. treatment of Hispanics to Hitler's treatment of the Jews.

Attempts like this by radical Hispanics to "hijack" the holocaust finally caused Senator Alan Simpson to lose his temper at a Senate immigration hearing. When Simpson's proposed employee verification system was likened by the ethnic lobby to "bar code tattoos" and the tactics of Adolph Hitler, he was irate. "These rhetorical excesses are disgusting and offensive," he said, "and I'm sick of this racist demagoguery!"

"Immigration advocacy organizations have so penetrated the nucleus of government that the government itself is now an immigration advocacy organization."

What Senator Simpson angrily called "bullying tactics" is part of a "machismo bad boy" act — the trademark of Chicano "political theater." During one of Professor Acuña's typical speeches, a white photographer was removed from the room by security guards, who tried to confiscate his camera and film. When he refused, they encircled him, pounding clenched fists into curled left palms and asked him repeatedly, "Are you afraid yet?"

Critics of the Chicano movement have reason to be afraid, because how do they know if the physical threats are just bluster, or if they're for real? Rudy Acuña warns that Chicano youth "bring the possibility of violence" to the Chicano movement, and the "Brown Berets" tell "gringos" that "the streets will run red with the blood of tyrants, who have murdered us for so long."

You would think this kind of talk would embarrass someone like LULAC's national president, Belen B. Robles, a listed participant at the UC Riverside conference. But evidently she has no shame. At one congressional hearing she pushed for admission of unskilled immigrants because "they contribute to our country's cultural development."

In her many roles, Robles epitomizes the reach of Hispanic ethno-nationalism and how it links mass immigration advocates in the giant non-profits, like LULAC, to elected officials, government bureaucracies, international corporations and the Mexican government.

Robles is on the board of HACR (Hispanic Association for Corporate Responsibility), an "invitation only" group where Hispanic leaders "sell" population growth as a "market benefit" to international companies like Coca Cola, McDonald's and Coors.

Because of her influential connections it is unlikely she will ever go back to her federal job as a supervisor in the U.S. Customs Service. Robles has been on an extended paid leave for years, thanks to the 1970 Intergovernmental Personnel Act whereby a federal agency can "lend" an employee to a non-profit organization.

Her $60,000 federal salary probably doesn't cover travel expenses from her home in El Paso to all the meetings she attends. She is national chair of the advisory committee to the INS commissioner. She is on the panel for the INS/US Border Patrol merger and an advisor to cabinet meetings on Mexican American affairs.

Immigration advocacy organizations have so penetrated the nucleus of government that the government itself is now an immigration advocacy organization. Robles is just one "biomarker" of this "altered identity." Another is Norma V. Cantu, former regional counsel for MALDEF before her appointment as the U.S. Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights.

In the Executive Branch there is Mickey Ibarra, a leader of the "Latino Vote 2000 Alliance." Its other key members are MALDEF's president and general counsel, Antonia Hernandez, and Belen Robles. Ibarra is currently White House Director for Inter-governmental Affairs.

In its quest for the ultimate "good," the Ford Foundation became the leading protagonist in an effort to open up the United States to mass Third World immigration. Tapping its $7 billion endowment, Ford created MALDEF, LULAC, and the National Council of La Raza, as well as taking

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over the financing of the ACLU. All are now non-profits in their own right and remain client beneficiaries of the Ford Foundation, so long as they heed the command to "be fruitful and multiply."

Now thousands of organizations all over the country speak with one voice and have identical goals. They want cultural hegemony for Hispanics and their political dominance through numerical superiority; continued mass immigration; another amnesty for illegals; complete social, medical and educational services for immigrants, legal or illegal; no barriers at the borders; Spanish language parity with English; voting rights for all U.S. residents, legal or not; and easy access to U.S. citizenship.

"To militant Chicanos there is no need for borders, green cards or proof of citizenship."

Virtually all of these demands are supported by the Clinton administration and promoted by the Mexican government. Gaston Rosas, administrative officer of the Consulado de Mexico in Los Angeles, and his staff, participate in "strategy sessions" with the 125-member Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights (CHIRLA). The consulate is listed as a "sponsor" of CHIRLA along with MALDEF and the ACLU. Despite their "diplomatic" mission, consulate officials have set up a data base on Mexican nationals in the United States and keep it in a computer in the offices of CHIRLA on "permanent loan."

Several years ago in Dallas, with Bill Clinton at his side, Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo advised Mexican-American elected officials that they were "Mexicans who lived north of the border." Addressing the National Council of La Raza last year in Chicago, President Zedillo told Mexican workers "you are part of our nation."

The 1996 LULAC national convention repeated this theme in its program: "A Mexican living in the United States," it said, "is and always shall be a Mexican." And guest speaker Ambassador Jesus Silver-Herzog warned that neither military units nor walls at the border could stem the immigrant flow.

U.S. legislation that attempted to do that in the form of "accelerated deportation" stirred what was called a "firestorm" in Mexico City (*Los Angeles Times*, April 3, 1997) and all four of Mexico's political parties declared it a violation of immigrants' rights that they would fight through the United Nations.

They needn't have been so concerned. Belen Robles announced at the LULAC convention in Anaheim that she had just met with President Clinton the previous Monday and, as a result, LULAC attorney Ray Velarde would be part of the committee revising the new immigration reform law.

Why would the president entrust such a mission to LULAC, considering their immediate past history of crime and corruption? Why the instant forgiveness? In 1995, Jose Velez, who preceded Robles as LULAC's national president, was convicted in El Paso of embezzling $9 million by forging thousands of fraudulent citizenship documents.

But to militant Chicanos there is no need for borders, green cards or proof of citizenship. The U.S. and Mexico apparently agree because their "bi-national" plans are making Aztlan into a destination that will soon be reachable by bullet train. The Mexican government has changed its constitution to allow dual citizenship, so the mythical state will become tangible and citizenship fungible — Mexicans remaining Mexicans while enjoying unlimited access to the infrastructure and resources of the United States.

Of the 17 million people of Mexican descent in the U.S., millions are U.S. citizens. Those born in Mexico, or having Mexican parents, are expected to besiege the 41 consulates, once this program goes into effect.

On July 14, 1997, Monica Lozano, editor of the Spanish-language newspaper *La Opinion*, explained to the Southern California public television audience that "we will see Mexican candidates for office in Mexico campaigning actively in California." Polling places will be opened here, she said, so that any citizen of Mexico living in the United States, can vote in Mexico's elections.

Simultaneous with the changes that will allow Mexicans living abroad to keep their nationality, Jose Angel Pescador Asuna, the Mexican Consul General in Los Angeles, advised Mexicans who were *not* U.S. citizens to become citizens, so they could vote in the United States to defend the interests of Mexico. To bring this about as quickly as possible, he pledged to

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work with the "citizenship" efforts of "non-governmental organizations" like LULAC, MALDEF and CHIRLA.

So, in this new hybrid polity, the Mexican government will conduct Mexican government business with millions of its own citizens within our borders — borders that the U.S. has deliberately blurred for years by crippling the INS, by approving NAFTA, and with a variety of federal initiatives like the joint training of police, and the U.S. Department of Education's La Frontera program to "promote U.S.-Mexican integration."

The border region is spreading, and many parts of California and the Southwest are already *de facto* Mexican territory where the combination of demographics and ethnic politics pull against assimilation in the future. Now the rumble of the coming dominance and struggle is getting louder from the leaders of the coming Hispanic majority.

"How beautiful the new world will be" former HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros opined three years ago, in Spanish, at a Southwest Voters Registration and Education meeting, "when we have a governor named Gonzalez or Hernandez or Martinez, and when the mayors of Los Angeles, San Francisco and San Diego all have Spanish names."

Congressman Estaban Torres set his sights higher when he told a meeting of the Latino Vote USA — Campaign 96 that "we will decide the ballot issues and elect the next U.S. president."

While we are used to calls for loyalty to party or platform, we have not heard in our lifetime such open pandering to loyalty based on race, — except from the Ku Klux Klan or the likes of Louis Farrakan. This "hard core" racial nationalism does not bode well for even a relatively harmonious, let alone an enduring, multi-ethnic nation. And it is hardly an illustration of multiculturalism's progress toward what sociologist Nathan Glazer called, "co-equal existence and voluntary power-sharing."

But multiculturalism may be irrelevant anyway, because it is *not* the direction in which we are headed. In California and parts of Texas, little American culture remains. Multiculturalism was just a transitional stage before Hispanics reached a critical mass and replaced the existing social hierarchy with one of their own.

Add to that the cultural imperatives of Koreans, Blacks, whites, mainland Chinese and other Asians, Africans and Middle-Easterners — all likely to import their historical antagonisms along with their charm and interesting food. Shall we assume that, absent assimilation, they will go along with the "happiness in diversity" script, for which there has never been even one successful "plain clothes" rehearsal in all of history?

The "must-be-inclusive" crowd in Los Angeles has come up with some new catchy lines to cover their recent anxiety. They now praise the "excitement" in the cacophony and hostility, and the "fun" of not knowing the results of the endgame. What will an Irish-Mexican-Chinese-Iraqi look like, they ask breathlessly, and who will they be? As they applaud changes at our core, they claim confidence in American humor and stability to defeat "Lebanese" politics and carry us through — as in having your cake and eating it too.

"...many parts of California and the Southwest are already de facto Mexican territory where the combination of demographics and ethnic politics pull against assimilation in the future."

Resistance to the northward press of Hispanics at our southern borders was thwarted by mischaracterizing it as "immigration." By the mid-1980s it had actually become an unregulated self-selection process, with no enforceable "right of refusal" on our part. Increasingly, this movement of people shared only surface similarities to the traditional immigration template, while conveniently keeping immigration's "halo effect."

Governor Pete Wilson recognized this new hybrid when he filed a $2.4 billion lawsuit against the federal government, accusing them, among other things, of violating their constitutional duty to protect California from "invasion." As a result, MEChA flyers `showed Wilson's face covered with a black swastika, and Chicano activist Dolores Huerta thanked the "great spirit" for taking away the governor's voice.

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Chicano activists are not the only ones pleased that the culture of the United States has melted south of Malibu and is dissolving in New York and in Chicago. Michael Clough, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, and co-chair of the New American Global Dialogue, is cheered by the changes wrought by immigration and economic globalization.

He wrote in the *Los Angeles Times* last year that "national unity is being eroded from above and below" and that "the idea of one America is gone." He apparently approves. He predicts that the country will be divided into sectors with different economic interests and even a "quasi-independent foreign policy."

But the interests that converged to deconstruct the nation have used each other badly in this marriage of convenience, and they have divergent blueprints for the future. Calculations made by global marketeers fail to factor in the force of tribal rage, or predict the future battles for ascendency. They haven't thought about the coming fury at the losses, like American identity — the meaning of our heroes and the "motherland" and tongue — the love of home.

Our country never was the globalist's to gamble with — nor a gift for Washington to give away. And to whom will all the good accrue from this dismembering? But it is past undoing now and time has run out — at least for California.

So say your fond farewells! *Mecha* means fuse, and it is lit. TSC

NOTES

[1] La Raza, the race, is a political construct masquerading as an authentic subgroup based on physical similarities and a common culture. Chicano activists identify themselves as "bronze people of color" to justify their separatist goals, but "Hispanics" come from widely different cultures and could be white, black or brown. The "Chicano" political movement in the United States was created by Mexican-Americans or Mexican immigrants. In the last decade, they have been joined by immigrants from Central America. Yet, everyone with a Hispanic surname is considered by them to be part of "La Raza."

[2] The author is indebted to the California Coalition for Immigration Reform (CCIR) for its research of the opposition. Many of the quotes in this article are memorialized on tape and were obtained by CCIR at some risk to the individuals involved.

The Melting Pot Myth

Riding in a cab in New York City or shopping in Los Angeles may make you think that America is growing more racially and ethnically diverse by the day. But the "melting pot" simply isn't reality. Population shifts during the 1990s show continued geographic concentration of minority groups into specific regions and a handful of metro areas. This is especially the case for new immigrant minorities — Hispanics and Asians — who typically enter the U.S. through major gateway cities and remain in those regions.... The fact is the largest blocs of Hispanics and Asians are clustered in only a few markets. Most markets beyond these "multiple melting pots" are largely white, or white and black.... Among the nation's 271 metro areas, Los Angeles is home to fully one-fifth of the Hispanic population.... The 10 metro areas with the largest Hispanic populations ... collectively house 58 percent of the nation's Hispanic population.... Of 3,142 counties in 1996, only 745 show white populations below the national white percentage (73 percent), and well over half (1,711) are at least 90 percent white.

— William H. Frey, Ph.D., demographer and research scientist
Population Studies Center, University of Michigan
Quoted from "The Diversity Myth" in *American Demographics*, June 1998

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Multiculturalism and the Demotion of Man

by Lawrence Auster

When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers,
The moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained;
What is man, that thou art mindful of him,
And the son of man, that thou visitest him?
For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels,
And hast crowned him with glory and honor.
—Psalm 8

Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.
— Romans 1:22-23

The perverse tendency among white Western elites to welcome and embrace non-Western peoples and cultures while refusing to defend their own people and culture is no mere fashion, as superficial conservatives would have it, but a natural and inevitable expression of a new culture — a culture of nihilism — that has become the dominant culture of the West. The organizing idea of this nihilist culture is that abnormal and transgressive conduct is normalized and celebrated, while traditional moral norms and constraints are either ignored or subjected to crippling social and civil penalties. Hardly a day goes by when this dominant nihilism does not announce its presence in unmistakable terms (readers are invited to come up with their own examples):

- High school pupils who physically attack their teachers go unpunished, while a police officer who slapped a boy he discovered having sex with his daughter is suspended from his job.
- Male and female students at elite colleges are housed in the same dorms, using the same bathrooms, while religious students who don't want to be forced to live in this libertine environment are told by school administrators they should have gone to school elsewhere.
- People who want the mail bomber Theodore Kaczynski executed are described by the *New York Times* as "angry," while people who consider him a hero are described by the *Times* in neutral, nonjudgmental terms.
- Hospitals are informed by federal courts that carrying on hospital business in the English language is "discrimination," while illegal aliens using those hospitals are told they have a "right" under the U.S. Constitution to be addressed in their native languages.
- Laws against disability discrimination punish employers for failing to hire or make "reasonable accommodations" for hostile or violent or chronically late employees.

This systematic inversion of normal and abnormal, of law and lawlessness, of good and evil that characterizes our society, goes beyond mere democratic leveling. It is a rebellion against what philosophers call the order of existence. Ultimately, it is a rebellion against God and the belief that man is made in the image of God. When man gets rid of the belief (which comes both through revelation and rational intuition) that he is made in the image and likeness of God, man is not — as secularists imagine — enhanced. He is degraded. If man is not made in God's image, then he is made in his own image. If God is not the measure of all things, then man is the measure. But without a higher truth to raise him above himself and his disordered impulses, man inexorably sinks, becoming so contemptible that he can no longer believe in God or in man. So he

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begins to worship non-human, sub-human, anti-human behaviors and forms.

The manifestations of this depravity can be seen not only in our popular "entertainments" (e.g., the Jerry Springer Show and much of prime-time television) and "lifestyles" (e.g., face-piercing and vampirism), but in the so-called high culture of post-1960s America. Sculptures and monuments once embodied an heroic-divine ideal going back to the ancient Greeks. But today our typical public sculptures portray grotesque shapes of victimhood, human figures bedraggled and twisted in pain, as

"It is no longer God above man, and God's spirit working within man, that is divine, but mere biological life, by which man is equal with crustacea, worms and viruses."

though the universe were one vast Auschwitz. It is an aesthetic in which any sense of human dignity in suffering is destroyed. Alongside the depiction of human beings as hopeless victims, we have now statues of monsters. In recent years New York City has displayed in parks and squares such "art works" as a 25-foot-long statue of an insect, and a statue of a gigantic, hideous dog as high as a man, with huge dugs projecting downward like knives. These sculptures, conveying a malign, anti-human sense of life, are our postmodern equivalents of the terror-gods of the pre-Columbian cultures. When man loses belief in God, he also loses respect for man, and turns to non-human or anti-human figures as symbols of the malign spiritual universe he now inhabits.

The postmodern degradation of man and culture begins with the modern idea of placing all human beings, and even all of nature, on an equal plane, free of the burden of transcendence. The essence of this agenda has been put forth in a remarkable essay by religion professor Steven C. Rockefeller. Blending deep ecology with multiculturalism, Rockefeller enunciates what is in effect a new religion. "All life is sacred," he writes, "[and] all life forms should be respected as a 'thou' and not just as an 'it.' ... If, as has been suggested, all cultures as well as all life forms are of intrinsic value and also sacred, then from a religious perspective all are in this sense equal in value."[1]

All of this, of course, is a total inversion of both Christianity and Judaism, which tell us that *God* is holy, not the world — and that human beings can become holy by orienting themselves toward God: "Be holy, for I the LORD your God am holy." But according to Rockefeller's new gospel, everything that exists — plants, animals, humans, and (most of all) Third-world cultures — is not only holy, but equally so:

> *If one employs this kind of religious argument in defense of the idea of equal value, one should recognize its full implications. It is opposed to anthropocentrism* [the idea that man is higher or more important than animals or plants] *as well as to all egoisms of class, race, or culture. It calls for an attitude of humility. It encourages a respect for, and pride in, one's own particular identity only insofar as such respect and pride grow out of recognition of the value of the uniqueness in the identity of all other peoples and life forms. Furthermore, if what is sacred in humanity is life, which is not something exclusively human, then humanity's primary identity is not just with the human species but with the entire biosphere that envelops planet Earth.*

It is no longer God above man, and God's spirit working within man, that is divine, but mere biological life, by which man is equal with crustacea, worms, and viruses. Instead of being humble before God and the nobler manifestations of mankind, we are supposed to be humble before plants and animals and primitive cultures. Most importantly, our own culture has no right to self-respect unless we first have total respect for all other cultures and life-forms. Rockefeller continues:

> *The call for recognition of the equal value of different cultures is the expression of a basic and profound universal human need for unconditional acceptance. A feeling of such acceptance, including affirmation of one's ethnic particularity as well as one's universally shared potential, is an essential part of a strong sense of identity.... The politics of recognition may, therefore also be an expression of a*

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complex human need for acceptance and belonging, which on the deepest level is a religious need.

Unconditional(!) acceptance as a sacred(!) right of every(!) person and culture. Try to imagine what this would mean in practical terms. Of course, there's a catch, which Rockefeller makes explicit elsewhere in his essay. Only *some* cultures and life-forms (namely white Western males) are actually obligated to extend this unconditional acceptance to other cultures and life forms, while those other cultures and life-forms are only expected to *receive* such recognition as is their divine right.

In Steven Rockefeller's mad epiphany, we seem to hear the final, degenerate gasp of the once-great Protestant spirit that made America. In the earlier stages of this devolution, the Protestant loses his Christian faith, which eventually leaves him with nothing but "niceness." Then this "niceness" — cut off from the religious faith that was its source and discipline, but still in need of some sort of "divine" sanction — spreads out indiscriminately until it embraces the whole universe, taking the form of nature-worship, the belief in the equality of all cultures and life-forms, and the totalitarian religion of unconditional acceptance.

But the religion of cosmic equality, as mad as it is, is still not the end of the process. As already suggested by Rockefeller's anti-Western double standard, the attempt to eliminate all hierarchy and transcendence leads inevitably to an *inverted* hierarchy, in which man, particularly Western man, is at the bottom. The Bible placed mankind near the top of a divinely ordered universe, only a little lower than the angels. But now the radical egalitarians tell us that man is no better than animals, who (it is argued) also communicate and reason, and are less destructive than humans. "And as with animals," remarks the late literary critic Peter Shaw, "so with primitive man and with societies less developed than our own: both are closer to the sources of natural wisdom, and both wreak less damage upon the ecosystem and biosphere than does Western man."[2] As an extreme example of this inversion, Shaw quotes the popular left-wing paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould:

Evolution is a copiously branching network, not a ladder, and I do not see how we, the titular spokesmen for a few thousand mammalian species, can claim superiority over three quarters of a million species of insects who will surely outlive us, not to mention the bacteria, who have shown remarkable staying power for more than three billion years.

"Here we have very nearly the ultimate demotion of man," comments Shaw, "the inferior not only of primitive peoples, other mammals, and the cockroach, but even of bacteria."

But, as Shaw points out, there is just one little problem with this belief in the superiority of primitive cultures: it is not true. Therefore it can only be sustained by ceaseless mental gymnastics. Embarrassing evidence, if it can't be suppressed, must be re-interpreted so as to make it fit within the egalitarian paradigm. It came to light some years ago that the ancient Mayans — long thought of as an exemplary, peaceful civilization — engaged in horrifying practices. Before going to war, reported the *New York Times*, "the king would puncture his penis with a stingray spine, while his wife drew a thorn-barbed rope through her tongue." The Mayans waged war in order to capture aristocrats for torture and sacrifice. The captives would sometimes be forced to play ball games using the decapitated heads of the losers as balls. The *Times* admitted that the evidence of these practices had been available for decades in stone reliefs and paintings, but that scholars had explained it all away in order to keep the Maya on a "mist-shrouded pedestal," where they could be idealized as an austere and enlightened people. But while the new evidence has shattered that peaceful image, it has not ended the need to portray nonwhite and non-Western cultures in a positive light. Anthropologists now argue that the Mayan practice of royal self-laceration indicates "a cooperative, sacred relationship between the elites and the commoners." In other words, remarks Peter

"...the attempt to eliminate all hierarchy and transcendence leads inevitably to an inverted hierarchy in which man, particularly Western man, is at the bottom."

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Shaw, "if the evidence shows a society's aristocrats obsessed with self-mutilation and torture, a bit of interpretation will help us see beneath the surface to the class solidarity so characteristic of pre-Columbian America and so lamentably missing from the modern world."

More recently, the human sacrifice cult of the pre-Inca Moche culture of Peru, memorialized in the ubiquitous image of the Decapitator (a demonic grimacing figure holding a severed head in one hand and a curved blade in the other), has been interpreted by Stanford anthropologist John Rick, not as the sacred core of the Moche culture (which it obviously was), but as a temporary expedient through which the Moche ruling class solidified its political power over a recalcitrant populace. Once the Moche elites were safely established through the use of violence, Professor Rick told *The News Hour*, they were "no more violent than ourselves." Thus, in the practiced manner of a contemporary liberal academic, Rick effortlessly made it seem that there is no essential difference between this ancient cult of death and the "oppressions" of modern America.

What anthropologists write in their academic journals, public school teachers, judges, reporters, and social workers are disseminating through the whole society. When the *New York Times* referred to car thieves and police in Newark, New Jersey as two "cultures" that were "clashing," and spoke of a deranged woman sitting on a sidewalk as having a "culture" that was different from the "culture" of the shoppers walking past her; when a New York City case worker refused to investigate a Nigerian immigrant who had been torturing his son for months, on the grounds that such beatings were part of the father's culture; when American teachers excuse the Japanese for their inhuman brutalities during World War II, while damning the U.S. for the wartime relocation of Japanese-Americans in California; when the national media covers up an endless series of horrifying racial murders of whites by blacks, while generating national hysteria over a non-existent white racist plot to burn black churches, the underlying idea is always the same: never to allow a non-Western or nonwhite people to be portrayed in a critical light, while portraying whites and Western culture in the harshest light possible.

As David K. Shipler, an apostle of racial correctness, inadvertently reveals in his recent book, *A Country of Strangers: Blacks and Whites in America*, this systematic denial of plain evidence by "right-thinking" whites is achieved through a deliberate act of self-hypnosis:

> *This is the ideal: to search your attitudes, identify your stereotypes, and correct for them as you go about your daily duties.*

This, at its Orwellian core, is the mindset that enables contemporary whites never to entertain a negative conclusion about non-whites, regardless of those individuals' moral and intellectual failings. This (in Joseph Sobran's useful coinage) is *alienism*: "a prejudice in favor of the alien, the marginal, the dispossessed, the eccentric, reaching an extreme in the attempt to 'build a new society' by destroying the basic institutions of the native."[3] This is the intellectual and spiritual environment which, combined with open borders and racial diversification, is turning America into the opposite of itself — into the anti-white, anti-Christian, anti-rational, anti-American anti-nation that is Multicultural America. TSC

NOTES

[1] Steven C. Rockefeller, "Comment," in Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition*, Princeton University Press, 1992.

[2] Peter Shaw, "The Demotion of Man," in *The War Against the Intellect*, University of Iowa Press, 1989.

[3] Joseph Sobran, "Pensées: Notes for the Reactionaries of Tomorrow," *National Review*, Dec. 31, 1985, p.33.

Our age reminds one very much of the
disintegration of the Greek state:
everything continues, and yet there is no one who believes in it.
The invisible spiritual bond that gives it validity has vanished,
and thus the whole age is simultaneously comic and tragic —
tragic because it is perishing —
comic because it continues...

— Søren Kierkegaard
Either/Or

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European-Descended Americans and the Elite

by Brent Nelson

The elite of America will be defined here as its ruling class. In his study of *The Ruling Class,* Gaetano Mosca argued that the most important fact about the division of a society into those who rule and those who are ruled is that it is a constant in political history.[1] When Mosca published his work in 1923, its thesis could still be challenged. Marxists proclaimed the advent of a classless society. Events of the past decade have seemed to confirm Mosca's thesis. Those who would usher in a classless society first must create a world inhabited only by people who have been cloned from one ancestor, and then must betake themselves to another planet.

It is not a tautology to define the elite as the ruling class because this definition emphasizes the central task of the elite's existence: i.e. to sustain the society which it rules and to maintain itself in power over that society. Obviously, that will be most feared which is most threatening to the attainment of this two-fold goal.

The current Europhobia of the elite involves a potential political problem which is not beyond the elite's power of resolving. This is the challenge which would arise if the majority of European Americans were to become politically mobilized to insist that the United States is and should remain a nation belonging to Western civilization, a nation Eurocentric in its culture and more appropriately aligned with the European Union than with any other population bloc. Such an insistence on the European nature of the U.S. would call for an end to the importation of labor (i.e., immigrants) from the Third World and an end to the export of capital to the Third World.

It is likely that the American elite could not yield on this issue without suffering significant economic losses. There is evidence that the importation of labor does serve as a brake on wages and salaries in the U.S.[2] It is more evident that exporting production facilities to Third World nations enables American manufacturers to achieve profit margins which would otherwise be unattainable. While it would be rash to conclude that the survival of the profit system depends on this policy, it probably does save certain industries from a crisis of falling profits.

Obviously, the protective social legislation and high living standards enjoyed by employees in many European nations make those nations unpalatable models in the eyes of the American elite.[3] However, any upsurge of "Europeanism" among the mass of European Americans can be handily contained by denunciations of "nativism" and "racism." The fact that "globalization" and immigration do not have the impact on other nations that they are having on the U.S. can also be easily ignored in elite-approved discussions of public policy. The average European American will be kept mindful not that his living standard is below that of his European cousins, but of the fact that he has not (as yet) sunk to the level endured by his counterparts in Latin America and Southeast Asia. The mass media, which effectively determine what is to occupy the mind of the average European American, are owned by the elite and serve the purposes of the elite.

It is the possibility of a deeper current of "Europeanism" about which the elite is truly phobic. This is the possibility that European Americans may one day begin to organize themselves not as taxpayers, not as members of a religious denomination, not as employees, not as devotees of a hobby or celebrity, not as supporters of a political party, not as campaigners for a candidate, but purely and simply as European Americans, conscious of their ethnicity and demanding a leadership which is equally conscious of that ethnicity. This development would threaten a societal upheaval, not just an easily contained political challenge, which

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might present the elite with an unsolvable problem of governance leading to its fall from power.

Prior to the civil rights movement of 1948 through 1965, the American elite was almost entirely an elite of European Americans. Following the civil rights movement (and especially after the civil disturbances which erupted from 1966 through 1970), the elite was obliged to receive into its ranks certain selected representatives of the black leadership. Following the resumption of mass immigration during the late 1970s, the elite also found itself compelled to receive into its inner circle selected leaders of the Asian and Hispanic populations.[4] The elite becomes more multi-racial or multi-ethnic as the nation's population becomes more racially/ethnically diverse.

"The rank and file of European Americans, beginning to see themselves as members of but one contending group among others, and seeing that other groups have leaders who are specifically ethnic leaders, will feel threatened if they lack such leaders."

The American elite finds it necessary to sustain a system which Arend Lijphart, an authority on multi-ethnic systems of government, calls "consociational democracy." Lijphart defines this as "government by a grand coalition of the political leaders of all significant segments of the plural society... [which features] a mutual veto or 'concurrent' majority rule ... proportionality [in] political representation, civil service appointments, and allocation of public funds [and] ... a high degree of autonomy for each segment to run its own internal affairs."[5]

Consociational democracy depends upon the creation of a working coalition of the elite of the different ethnic blocs. In Lijphart's words, "The political stability of the consociational democracies must be explained in terms of an addition factor — cooperation by the leaders of the different groups which transcends the segmented or subcultural cleavages at the mass level."[6] If the elites are adversarial rather than coalescent, the democracy will be centrifugal, en route to self-destruction. The elite of a minority ethnic bloc may adopt a disruptive or even separatist strategy, while the majority ethnic bloc may attempt to retain its political supremacy through repressive measures. If the contending ethnic blocs are roughly equal in numbers, the contest for control of the state apparatus will be unending and often violent.

Lijphart sees in Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, and the Netherlands examples of successful consociational democracies. George Schoepflin, writing in 1991, considers the possibility of exporting this political form to the ethnically torn nations of eastern Europe. According to Schoepflin, con-sociational democracy operates upon the basis of an unwritten constitution or gentlemen's agreement, which recognizes that "the government should keep much of its negotiation behind closed doors in order to prevent popular mobilization around a particular issue that could be related to group identity..."][7]

Consociational democracy requires a delicate balance if it is to survive as a system. Schoepflin believes that "it requires two essential conditions to succeed. In the first place, all the groups concerned must be willing to work toward accommodation and be ready to bargain; that, in turn, implies the creative use of both substantive and procedural solutions that will help all parties ... all groups must work to avoid zero-sum-game situations... Second, the leaders of a group must be able to secure the support of their followers."[8]

The masses of European Americans have accepted an elite which represents itself as being the elite of the entire nation, not simply the elite of one ethnic bloc. This fiction of altruistic liberalism on the part of the European American leadership has been accepted by its followers largely because the latter, being clearly in the majority, have had the psychological reassurance that "this is our country." If, however, the European American majority finds itself becoming a minority, as is now happening in some areas of the country, the coalition of the elite will be destabilized by a crisis of confidence among the ranks of European American followers.

The rank and file of European Americans,

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beginning to see themselves as members of but one contending group among others, and seeing that other groups have leaders who are explicitly ethnic leaders, will feel threatened if they continue to lack such leaders. The politically stabilizing fiction that European American leaders are not themselves ethnic leaders, but are leaders of "all Americans, regardless of race, color, or creed," will then face a challenge from a side other than that of the ethnic minorities. The European American elite, well aware that its pose of altruistic liberalism has been viewed with skepticism by non-European elites, will be reluctant to placate their own restive rank and file at the risk of threatening the coalescence of elites. If European Americans begin to organize themselves as such, and seek leadership as militant on behalf of their interests as is the leadership of a minority ethnic bloc, the result will be a move toward the kind of centrifugal democracy that prevails in Northern Ireland.

The elite's phobia regarding even a faint foreshadowing of such a development became evident in 1991 when it seemed possible that a racist demagogue would be elected to the governorship of a Southern state. Alarm was widespread throughout the American elite. An unprecedented political mobilization took place which enlisted the support of persons rarely associated with electoral politics. The President of the United States endorsed the demagogue's opponent even though he represented an opposing political party. Leaders in industry, finance, and commerce, clergymen of all denominations, educators, entertainers and celebrities, and labor leaders all spoke out against the demagogue's candidacy. All newspapers save one small rural weekly endorsed the demagogue's opponent. Serious plans were announced to subject the state to an economic boycott should the demagogue be elected. The largest single purchase of television advertising time directed against one political candidate was made by opponents of the demagogue.[9]

In this case, the demagogue was easily discredited because of his past association with the obsolete ideology of white supremacy. It is likely, however, that future demagogues will insist that they only represent the interests of the European American population and do not seek to subjugate other groups. The accusation of racism will be much less damaging in that case. In the future, when such a demagogue claims merely to represent a European American population which is itself a minority among other minority blocs, the charge of racism will lack credibility. How will the elite be able to prove that what is simple representation for one group is racism for another group? The elite's argument will fail. The European American elite then will find itself in the position of the Yugoslavian elite when the Yugoslavian state broke down into separate national blocs of Slovenians, Croats, Serbs, and Moslems; i.e., it will be an elite with almost no one to lead or rule.

The more virulent type of "Europeanism," which one might call "racial Europeanism" to distinguish it from the political variety, can be prevented if the European American population remains America's majority population not only in the country as a whole, but also in all of its regions. Retaining European Americans as the country's core population, its societal anchor, can be done by simply suspending all immigration and repatriating illegal immigrants.

Why is this not done?

The American elite is hesitant to recognize the immigration problem for the same reason that it hesitates to recognize the problems of overpopulation and limited natural resources. Planning to avoid these problems involves taking a long-range "time horizon" into the planning of public policy, a "time horizon" which is unknown in the private sector where, in fact, short-term planning for the next two to five years may yield rewards while long-range plans, all too likely to be invalidated by unforeseen vicissitudes of the market, may be the surest way to ruin.

Even the political system, revolving around quadrennial electoral contests, rewards the individual with a foreshortened "time horizon." The one great exception to this rule seems to be the bipartisan foreign policy, sustained for almost fifty years, which led to the containment of communism. In this instance, however, the danger from uncontrolled immigration is much less certain, less clear, than was the communist threat. Communism was an obvious menace to the interests of the American elite because it was anti-capitalist, but the elite fails to see how mass immigration will ultimately prove to be a threat to capitalism. On the contrary, immigra-

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tion now seems to be supportive of capitalism by providing it with a source of cheap labor.

The American elite still believes that "assimilation" will solve all problems of inter-ethnic conflict. However, the elite's.0 use of "assimilation" now makes that word a misnomer because there is no longer a consensus within the elite as to what the culture is to which the new immigrants are to be assimilated. Even the recommendation that English be legally recognized as the nation's only language of government is denounced as racist. What the elite hopes for is not true assimilation, but amalgamation, the Brazilian model, but even Brazil is not free of racial conflict.[10] Furthermore, the long-established geographic distribution of racial groups within the U.S. suggests that even several generations of amalgamation would not suffice to erase the distinctive racial "coloration" of different regions and localities.[11]

The typical member of the elite, like Mr. Micawber, is sure that "something will turn up." Deliverance will come from somewhere. Meanwhile, all attention is devoted to the bottom line. What accounts for this dereliction of historic duty among the elite? A lengthy explanation is neither appropriate nor needed. The historian James Lincoln Collier has answered that question fully in his too-little-known book *The Rise of Selfishness in America* which is neither ranting radicalism nor lugubrious sermonizing, despite what its title may suggest, but an insightful essay in the history of values.[12]

The elite has lost its old values, including any sense of *noblesse oblige*, but — and this is a factor not considered by Collier — it has kept its primal instinct of fear. Any premature outbreak of the more threatening variety of "Europeanism" might galvanize the elite into wide-awake concern and move it to take constructive action. If that action were to include a curtailment of immigration, it is possible that America's consociational democracy would be made viable for the indefinite future. In that event, the American elite will have muddled through once again. Perhaps it is only historic happenstance which really rules. TSC

NOTES

[1] See Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class*, trans. Hannah D. Kahn (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939), p. 50.

[2] For evidence of this braking effect on wages and salaries in recent years, see George J. Borjas, "The New Economics of Immigration," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Nov. 1996, pp. 32-34f. For evidence of this same effect during the first great influx of immigrants, see Claudia Goldin, *The Political Economy of Immigration Restriction in the United States, 1890 to 1921.* NBER Working Paper Series, No. 4345 (Cambridge, Mass.: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1993).

[3] For the reaction of one central European to the drift of the American elite away from close association with Europe, see Werner Weidenfeld, *America and Europe: Is the Break Inevitable?* (Guetersloh, Germany: Bertelsmann, 1995), *passim* and especially pp. 54-60. Weidenfeld still has hopes for a "transatlantic common market" (pp. 120-121).

[4] Ethnic labels used here (with the exception of European American) are taken from "Statistical Policy Directive No. 25: Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting," published by the U.S. President's Office of Management and Budget.

[5] See Lijphart's *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977), p.25.

[6] Ibid., p. 16.

[7] See Schoepflin's "Nationalism and National Minorities in East and Central Europe," *Journal of International Affairs* 45(1)(Summer 1991): 63.

[8] Ibid, p. 63.

[9] See Tyler Bridges, *The Rise of David Duke*, (Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 1994), pp. 194-237.

[10] A growing body of literature argues that racism is as prominent a feature of Brazilian life as it is elsewhere. For a recent example, see France W. Twine, *Racism in a Racial Democracy: The Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998).

[11] See the detailed maps in James P. Allen and Eugene J. Turner, *We the People: An Atlas of America's Ethnic Diversity* (New York: Macmillan, 1988). William Frey, director of the Population Studies Center at the University of Michigan, has published several studies demonstrating that this pattern of geographic concentration of racial groups, which he terms "balkanization," has been accentuated by recent migration patterns. See, for example, his article, "The New White Flight," *American Demographics*, April 1994, pp. 40-48.

[12] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). Collier sees in the mass immigration of the period from 1880 through 1924 the primary cause of this great shift in values. See especially pp. 19-34.

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The Price of Virtue

Concern for others has degenerated into an inability to make the distinctions necessary for America's survival

by Jared Taylor

Europe and Europeans are today's favorite whipping boys. Whether it is Susan Sontag explaining that "the white race is the cancer of human history," or Sister Souljah telling her brothers to take time off from killing each other and kill white people instead, Europe and its people are the stock villains of today's mythology. Although contemporary morality is supposed to forbid "negative stereotypes" and to require infinite sensitivity to others, the white man (and sometimes even the white woman) is the one exception. It is entirely proper to assume the worst about him, simply because he is white.

Where does this hatred of the West come from? What are its consequences?

The second question is easily answered — in fact every issue of *The Social Contract* recounts some aspect of the tragedy of a people that has not only lost the will to resist calumny but often joins in it.

- San Jose erects a statue to the Aztec god Quetzalcoatl rather than restore its Liberty Bell monument.
- President Clinton looks forward to the day when whites become a minority. [For example, his Portland, Oregon commencement speech.]
- At what used to be called the Custer Battlefield National Monument, George Custer and his men now share honors with the Indians who butchered and mutilated them.
- A Harvard professor launches a magazine with the slogan, "Treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity."
- Mexican-"Americans" in public office gloat openly over the prospects of a Hispanic *reconquista* of the Southwestern United States.

Similar acts of capitulation are unthinkable in non-Western countries. Let us imagine that millions of poor whites were pouring across the border into Mexico, insisting on English-language instruction in public schools, running drugs, joining gangs, celebrating Fourth of July rather than Cinco de Mayo, demanding ballot papers in English, voting as a bloc, and muttering darkly about detaching part of northern Mexico and establishing an all-white nation. Could the Mexicans possibly be tricked into thinking this was "cultural enrichment"? No. Only whites tell themselves they must "celebrate diversity" while aliens displace them.

Although the details are different, the same process is at work throughout Europe and its diaspora. Germans must make room for Turks and Gypsies, the French must accommodate millions of North Africans, and the Australians and New Zealanders dare not speak out against transforming waves of Asian immigrants for fear of being called "racists." Canada is charging even more energetically than the United States into a Third World future where its European origins will be either forgotten or despised.

Why do we see this in virtually every white, Western nation and nowhere else?

First, it is important to acknowledge that the West has brought dispossession upon itself. It has the power to guard its borders and to defend its culture but has lost the will to do so. We must be prepared to lose what we do not defend. No one can blame Africans, Latinos, and Asians for taking whatever a denatured West is foolish enough to give. It is therefore into our own natures that we must look if we are to understand Europhobia.

I believe our present weakness is a perversion of

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what, in the past, were our strengths. The very traits that distinguished the West and made it great have now become the seeds of our own destruction. There is, after all, a common thread to the characteristics of modern European man, and he carries these characteristics wherever he migrates. That common thread is an abiding sense of reciprocity, a conviction that others have rights that must be respected. This conviction is at the heart of the institutions that are common to all Western societies and absent from virtually every other: democracy, free speech, and the rule of law.

Democracy is a most improbable development. It is based on the assumption that, within the body of electors, all opinions are equal. This is a remarkable, even heroic respect for the opinions of others. Non-Western rulers do not give up power simply because the majority of voters asks them to. This requires that ambition be sacrificed to the opinions of strangers and, for the most part, only Westerners can manage that. A few Asian nations have developed a tenuous tradition of democracy, but only Europeans take it for granted.

The rule of law is likewise grounded in reciprocity. The idea that power is not self-justifying requires an understanding that others have legitimate rights. In virtually every non-Western society, the power-holding clique enforces laws only in a manner that advances its interests — and everyone accepts this. Only in the West do men assume that justice should be blind and that everyone is equal before the law.

Another almost exclusively European characteristic is legal protection against censorship. The temptation of the powerful to silence the weak is strong; most non-Europeans give in to it without compunction.

Another Western expression of concern for others is the elimination of hereditary class distinctions and the provision of public education. Westerners believe that citizens should rise or fall according to abilitiy rather than according to status at birth. This is still an infant concept among many other peoples.

Respect for others suffuses virtually all the qualities we think of as typifying Western man. Ideals of sportsmanship, for example, are meant to curb expressions of triumphalism and protect the loser from humiliation. Rooting for the underdog is another European sporting tradition. Some competitors may be no-hopers but we cheer their efforts and hope for an upset.

One of the most dramatic ways in which Europeans differ from other people is in their treatment of women. For American Indians and Africans, women were beasts of burden. Muslims kept women out of sight and Confucianists kept them in distinctly servile roles. Only in the West was the objectively weaker sex elevated and protected through an elaborate code of chivalry. Only European men traditionally stand in the presence of a woman, hold doors for her, carry her burdens. It is typical of the West that women have rights and sensibilities that must be respected.

"I believe our present weakness is a perversion of what, in the past, were our strengths. The very traits that distinguished the West and made it great have now become the seeds of our own destruction."

Does the concept of "noblesse oblige" have a non-Western parallel? Or is it only Europeans who believe that the successful and high born have a peculiar obligation to serve? Muslim societies have the zakah, or obligatory alms for the poor, but nowhere among non-Western peoples are found the habits and institutions of charity common to Western man. Only in the West is there a tradition of volunteer work or even an understanding of what it is. It is no accident that the welfare state is an almost exclusively Western enterprise.

Another distinctively European expression of concern for others is the missionary calling. Although it is fashionable to mock Christian missionaries, they made tremendous sacrifices to bring what they believed was salvation to people who would otherwise perish. Other people — even foreigners — not only had rights, they had immortal souls that it was the white man's burden to save.

Europeans also show their characteristic concern for others in attempts to protect wildlife and the environment. People preserve the

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environment because future generations have rights to it, too. Third World nations are notoriously unconcerned about the environment, partly because they are poor, but also because they do not share Western concerns.

Europeans are the world's unsurpassed champions at saving and improving. They have fought wars to end all wars, to make the world safe for democracy, and — some say — to end slavery. They launch wars on inanimate enemies like poverty or drugs. They are always off to feed the world, save the ozone layer, protect the spotted owl, spread democracy, liberate women, stop acid rain, fight AIDS, promote human rights, and end child labor. There is nothing on the planet that escapes Western man's obsession with doing good. For Asians and Africans it must be an astonishing spectacle.

But what does this have to do with the defeated state of mind now common in the West? Every one of these concerns for rights and reciprocity has, in recent decades, been perverted into something dangerous and self-destructive. Every noble impulse towards fairness has plunged into blind egalitarianism. Western societies have pushed their characteristic consideration for others to impossible limits; *they have lost the capacity to judge.* In fact the history of this century is the history of an almost hysterical assault on judgments, of distinctions of all kinds.

A society must distinguish between competent and incompetent, worthy and unworthy, criminal and non-criminal, healthy and perverse, citizen and alien. In the West, distinctions that are vital for survival are increasingly blurred and smoothed over in the name of "sensitivity" and "tolerance," *in an excessive and even suicidal concern for others.*

Thus has the carefully crafted republic of the Founding Fathers been dismantled in the name of an illusory equality. A restricted franchise recognized that some men were wiser than others but the West can no longer pass judgments of this kind. Likewise, the rule of law has been perverted to serve the so-called rights of criminals and convicts, who are now thought to deserve more consideration than the law-abiding. High regard for women has collapsed into the preposterous notion that men and women are physically and psychologically equivalent. Concern for the common good that underlay public education has degenerated into a preoccupation with incompetents and defectives. Private, voluntary charity has been overshadowed by government programs that attempt to erase distinctions by taking from the productive and giving to the unproductive. Speech codes violate ancient principles of free speech for fear that when we speak we might also judge.

As the typical Western concern for others runs amok, not much remains of the ancient distinctions between man and woman, hetero- and homosexual, gentleman and barbarian, black and white, producer and parasite, native and alien. This campaign to destroy distinctions succeeded only in the West because only the West has such a long tradition of altruism and concern for others.

Values, of course, are the most basic distinctions, and a society that is incapable of distinctions has no values. It was inevitable that cultural relativism should take root in this void. If it is "insensitive" to say that opera is superior to rap "music," and no longer permissible to say Custer's men were fighting for civilization, how can Western man possibly think he has a culture worth defending or a way of life worth living? How can Americans object to *reconquista* if they have lost faith in their own legitimacy? How can the French oppose the rise of Islam within their own borders if all religions are equivalent? Robert Frost once said that a liberal is someone who cannot take his own side in an argument. European man can no longer take his own side in the battle for survival.

A culture, people, nation, or way of life can survive only if those who carry it forward have a frank and healthy conviction that their way is *best.* Without this conviction nothing can be saved. Unless Europeans regain the capacity to judge, to make distinctions, to reject what is alien and odious, they and their culture will be pushed aside by peoples that still believe in themselves and who are unencumbered by typically Western concerns about the rights of others.

The institutions that grew out of European concern for others rule of law, free speech, representative government — are great and lasting contributions to civilization. We must not let the virtues from which they arose degenerate into an inability to judge and make distinctions lest those institutions disappear along with the people who created them. TSC

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The Europhobia of the U.S. Justice Department

by Jospeh E. Fallon

The U.S. Justice Department deliberately seeks to demonize European-Americans as the chief perpetrators of racist and violent criminal behavior in America. It does so through official acts of commission: its guidelines for hate crimes and the death penalty — and omission: its silence on statistics showing the overwhelming majority of the victims of violent crime (murder, rape, assault, and robbery) are white. This policy constitutes Europhobia: i.e., the promotion of fear and hatred of U.S. citizens of European ancestry.

Europhobia was integrated into the criminal justice system by Public Law 101-275, the "Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990." Enacted April 23, 1990, this law mandated the U.S. Attorney General to establish guidelines and collect data "about crimes that manifest evidence of prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity, including where appropriate the crimes of murder; non-negligent manslaughter; forcible rape; aggravated assault, simple assault, intimidation; arson; and destruction, damage, or vandalism of property."

"(T)he task of developing the procedures for, and managing the implementation of, the collection of hate crime data" was assigned to the Uniform Crime Reports Section of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Since 1991, the FBI has designated biased acts against any of the following groups a hate crime:

Racial:
Anti-White
Anti-Hispanic
Anti-Black
Anti-American Indian/Alaskan Native
Anti-Asian/Pacific Islander
Anti-Multi-Racial Group

Religious:
Anti-Jewish
Anti-Catholic
Anti-Protestant
Anti-Islamic
Anti-Other Religious Group
Anti-Multi-Religious Group
Anti-Atheism/Agnosticism/etc.

Ethnicity/National Origin
Anti-Hispanic
Anti-other ethnicity or national origin

Sexual Orientation
Anti-male homosexual
Anti-female homosexual
Anti-homosexual
Anti-heterosexual
Anti-bisexual

While the FBI identifies victims of hate crimes by race, ethnicity/national origin, religion, or sexual orientation, it identifies perpetrators only by race. This enables the FBI to inflate the number of hate crimes perpetrated by "whites."

Although officially Hispanics can be of any race, in practice the U.S. government classifies most as "white." Therefore, since perpetrators of hate crimes are recognized by race only, the FBI will generally list an attack by a Hispanic on an Asian, Black, or Jew as a hate crime perpetrated by a "white". If a Hispanic attacks another Hispanic that too will probably be identified by the FBI as a hate crime by a "white" against a Hispanic.

This policy has enabled the FBI to officially report that of all known hate crimes "whites" were responsible for 65 percent in 1991, 64 percent in 1992, 51 percent in 1993, 57 percent in 1994, 59 percent in 1995, and 66 percent in 1996. Although these percentages are significantly lower than the "white" percentage of the population, they still overstate the case to the extent that most people equate "white" with "European-American."

This Europhobia in the compilation of official hate crimes statistics has a secondary feature. It

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insures European-American victims of hate crimes receive little recognition. The worst series of racially motivated hate crimes in California this century were the "Zebra" killings in 1973. The victims were European-Americans — 71 were killed throughout the State, 15 in San Francisco alone. Yet, this is not mentioned in official discussions on hate crimes.

Meanwhile, recent cases of violent hate crimes perpetrated by non-whites against European-Americans are not being prosecuted as such by the local authorities. In Kent County, Michigan, on April 25, 1996, David Crawford, a 17 year old European-American being medically treated for schizophrenia, was beaten, suffocated to death, then beheaded by Hispanic, Federico Cruz. After dumping Crawford"s body in the swamps, Cruz took the severed head home where he videotaped himself mutilating it. Officials are not charging Cruz with any hate crime.

On June 23, 1997, three European-American youths of Oakland County, Michigan — 14 year old Michael Carter, his unidentified 14 year old girl friend, and 15 year old Dustin Kaiser — hopped a freight train to visit friends in a nearby town. Missing their stop, they got off in Flint and looked for a public telephone to call home. There they were kidnapped and robbed by six black men who murdered Michael Carter, raped the 14 year old girl, then attempted to murder her and Dustin Kaiser. Although police arrested the black suspects, they are not charging any with a hate crime.

While such hate crimes go unpunished, the U.S. Justice Department extended its Europhobia to the death penalty. Rejecting a report by the Federal Bureau of Prisons that there is no historical racial bias in federal executions, Attorney General Janet Reno issued a directive to federal prosecutors on January 27, 1995 establishing race-based guidelines for seeking capital punishment which target European-Americans.

These guidelines removed the decision to seek the death penalty from local federal prosecutors and transferred it to "death penalty committees" at the Justice Department. The committees are ordered to consider "statistical evidence" of past racial discrimination in the federal administration of death penalty cases despite the Federal Bureau of Prisons report that no such discrimination exists. The directive is having the desired results. According to the Death Penalty Information Center, the number of whites on death row for federal crimes has already tripled.

Her guidelines not only enable the Attorney General to vilify European-Americans as a violent community by showing an increase in capital crimes committed by them, but by falsely accusing European-American federal prosecutors of a historic racial bias against non-whites in seeking the death penalty, she can further demonize European-Americans as racists who cannot be trusted in official positions of power. Equally important, these guidelines enable the U.S. Justice Department to avoid public discussion of its own crime statistics that show European-Americans are the victims of most racially motivated violent crimes.

After reviewing these statistics, Paul Sheehan reported in the May 20, 1995 issue of the *Sydney* (Australia) *Morning Herald* that of the 6.6 million violent crimes perpetrated in the U.S. in 1992 — i.e., murder, rape, assault, and robbery — 20 percent were interracial. And approximately 90 percent of these victims were white.

Mr. Sheehan found:

> *...almost 1 million white Americans were murdered, robbed, assaulted or raped by black Americans ... compared with about 132,000 blacks who were murdered, robbed, assaulted or raped by whites... Blacks thus committed 7.5 times more violent crimes than whites even though the black population is only one-seventh the size of the white population. When these figures are adjusted on a per capita basis, they reveal an extraordinary disparity: blacks are committing more than 50 times the number of violent racial crimes of whites...(M)ost interracial murders involve black assailants and white victims, with blacks murdering whites at 18 times the rate that whites murder blacks.*

Instead of combating such crimes against European-Americans, the U.S. Justice Department, driven by Europhobia, expends its time and energy fabricating "statistics" to demonize the European-American community. In doing so, the U.S. Justice Department is not only violating the civil rights laws, it is undermining the very integrity of the criminal justice system — and, thereby, the continued stability of the political system. TSC

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Kennewick Man Discovered

Just who is 'indigenous,' anyway?

by Stephen McNallen with Wayne Lutton

Practitioners of "Identity Politics" charge that the descendants of the Founders of the American Republic have no right to be here, based on the assertion that Europeans are "settlers" who invaded the Western Hemisphere and took it away from "Native Americans." In their view, the U.S. is illegitimate and whites should not complain when others move in. Some advocates of this position have come right out and said that whites should pack their bags and go back to Europe.

Recent discoveries in the field of archaeology have raised solid suspicions that Euro-Americans might be just as "indigenous" to North America as are the Indians (who, as Wayne Lutton has elsewhere observed, are more accurately described as "Siberian Americans," since that is apparently where their Asian ancestors came from [cf. R. Pearson, *Anthropological Glossary*, Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., 1985, p.125]).

On July 28, 1996, two college students, Will Thomas and Dave Deacy, stumbled upon a skull along the shores of the Columbia River, near the town of Kennewick, Washington. After reporting their finding to police, within days anthropologist James Chatters of Central Washington University discovered a complete skeleton. Forensic examination of the remains revealed that the individual was a "Caucasoid" male. Radiocarbon dating by the University of California at Riverside found the skeleton to be 9,300 to 9,600 years old.

This was the second ancient Caucasian skeleton discovered in the state of Washington. Remains of another Caucasoid, dated at 10,300 years, had earlier been found along the Snake River.

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, property owner of the site where the remains were found, took custody of the skeleton on September 5, 1996. Representatives of the Umatilla Indian tribe demanded that they be given the skeleton for "proper burial" and attempted to prevent anthropologists from conducting further examinations. More research at the site by Chatters in December 1997 turned up a rib fragment of Caucasian origin.

People linked to ancient Europe may have thrived in America many thousands of years ago. In fact, they may predate the people currently designated as "Native Americans."

Anthropologists have found other contemporaries of Kennewick Man. For example, the state of Nevada is custodian for a number of skeletons that radioactive carbon dating establishes are more than 9000 years old. Plaster-cast reconstructions by physical anthropologists reveal that some of them do not resemble proto-American Indians (cf. *Science*, April 10, 1998, p. 191). Indeed, Kennewick Man himself bears a striking resemblance to actors Jean-Luc Picard (of "Star Trek: The Next Generation") and Telly Savalas.

The Caucasoid remains seem to have a connection to what is known as Clovis-type artifacts. Archaeologists have been puzzled by these distinctly fluted stone projectile points; they bear no resemblance to anything developed in Siberia or East Asia. Instead, they are virtually identical to those of the Solutrean culture found in prehistoric Spain and France.

At the Spring 1998 meeting of the Association of Physical Anthropologists, Richard Jantz of the University of Tennessee said that the pre-history of the Western Hemisphere is considerably more complex than was earlier believed. There may well have been three or more distinct populations living in North America 10,000 years ago.

The ancient Caucasian skeletons show signs of

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violence. Kennewick Man likely died from a hip wound caused by an arrowhead of Asian tribal pattern. Dennis Stanford, an archaeologist at the Smithsonian Institution, notes that in pre-Columbian America "there was a lot of conflict; it wasn't a peaceful period as has often been portrayed. Someone was pushing on someone else, but we don't know who yet" (*Science*, April 10, 1998, p. 191).

In short, recent findings now suggest that: 1) the earliest arrivals in this land were not the ancestors of the Indians; and 2) the archaic populations may well have been kin to Europeans. Evidence includes the shape of bones, categories of mitochondrial DNA, cultural artifacts, and even the oral traditions of the Indians themselves.

Could Europeans have migrated to America many thousands of years ago? Some experts believe in the existence of an "Atlantic Crescent" causeway of ice and land, resembling the Bering land bridge, that may have allowed Asian peoples to cross to this continent during the last ice age.

This hypothesis, while possible, is not central to explaining the presence of Caucasoid peoples in ancient America. From what today are the eastern plains of Germany, open steppes roll all the way across the top of Eurasia, punctuated at great intervals by mountains which our ancestors could have surmounted. Game was plentiful. Prehistorians note that European-type people could easily have ranged throughout this expanse, placing them in prime position to migrate across Beringia and into Alaska, and from there to points south.

Indian legends tell of the non-Indians who were here when the Indians arrived. They were killed or dispossessed. The Paiutes describe "red haired giants" who they exterminated by continual warfare. According to their legends, the Paiutes herded the last of these "giants" into a cave near Lovelock, Nevada, and burned them to death. In other areas, the pre-Indians are called the "stick people" or the "light-skinned, mean spirited people."

If America was populated by Caucasoids until a few thousand years ago, where did they go? Why weren't their ancestors on hand to greet their cousins when they arrived five centuries ago?

We can only guess. Perhaps they mixed with the ancestors of the Indians. On the other hand, the Paiute legends may be based on truth. Primitive tribal cultures are not noted for tolerating differences and the various Indian groups were hardly the peace-loving ecologists that some would like us to believe (cf. Lawrence H. Keeley, *War Before Civilization: The Myth of the Peaceful Savage*, Oxford University Press, 1996). It is likely that the Europeans' remote American kinfolk were murdered by Asian invaders — a reminder that the story of humanity is one of peoples and cultures displacing one another and striving for dominance.

In Washington state, local Indian tribes have demanded Kennewick Man's remains for burial and have pressured the Clinton Administration into preventing qualified scientists from conducting further study. With legislation pending before Congress to preserve the site where the remains were discovered, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers nevertheless, during the week of April 6, 1998, dumped tons of rock and dirt on the area — this in the name of "erosion control." In late April, a box of bones containing the Caucasoid rib fragment found by James Chatters the previous December was reported to be missing from the Battelle Laboratory facility where it was stored (cf. "Kennewick Man Timeline," *The Seattle Times*, Wednesday June 10, 1998).

There are powerful lobbies which want to squelch the idea that European-like people may have lived in the Americas thousands of years ago. And the notion that they might have actually preceded the Indians on this continent is even more threatening. University of New Mexico anthropologist Lawrence Straus has characterized Professor Chatters' comments about Caucasoid ancient Americans as "dangerous" to science. To say to current American Indians they are not the first people here and that Europeans may have been the first "is devastating," Straus fumed at a recent gathering of the Society for American Archaeology (cf. "Scientist Digs Up Controversy with Kennewick Man," *The Seattle Times*, June 10, 1998).

Playing "Identity Politics" may yet prove to be a dangerous game for those who have asserted that Europeans are non-indigenous newcomers. Prehistory is not that simple. Kennewick Man, that 9300-year old voice from the past, shows just how deep some of our ancestors' roots run. TSC

[Updated regularly, the Kennewick, Washington-area newspaper maintains the "Kennewick Man Virtual Interpretive Center" at: www.tri-cityherald.com/bones/.]

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On It Goes

Immigration will continue to fuel demands for affirmative action

by Michael Kuehl

Many believe that the passage of the California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI) by a slim margin of 54 to 46 percent "signals the coming end of preference laws and policies..." to quote John Leo from a pre-CCRI article in *U.S. News & World Report* ("Finally the people vote on a taboo," March 4, 1996, p.26). Others, like David Frum, are more realistic:

> *Forgive the vulgar comparison, but "abolishing" affirmative action will likely prove as easy as scraping wax off broadloom. No single enactment or statute created affirmative action. Race and sex preferences are the product of literally thousands of mutually reinforcing federal executive orders, bureaucratic enforcement actions, private lawsuits, state and local laws and ordinances, and individual policies of corporations and universities... More: it's become the livelihood of an entire industry — litigators, consultants, bureaucrats, college administrators, corporate vice-presidents. The affirmative action regime won't be ended with the stroke of a pen, but only after a long, arduous struggle.* ("Diversity's Deep Roots" in *The American Spectator*, October 1995, p.54.)

In fact, the growing influence of immigrant groups insures the perpetuation of affirmative action. Massive Third World immigration increases the number of people who benefit from affirmative action and, consequently, enhances the "racial spoils system" — and the power, insatiable and revanchist, of professional minority spokespersons. And as the population that already benefits from quotas and preferences grows increasingly larger and more influential, white males (the predominant victims of anti-white and anti-male discrimination) will become an ever-smaller, powerless and disenfranchised minority. In 20, perhaps even 10 years, the scant, tenuous majority of 54 percent will be gone forever, to say nothing of the power of the judiciary to subvert the democratic process.

As Paul Craig Roberts has pointed out, largely to deaf ears, white males are already "second-class citizens" under the law.

> *The 1964 Civil Rights Act, which undertook to eliminate race and sex from private employment decisions, has instead been used to make race and sex the determining factors. Reverse discrimination is now a fact of life. Indeed, in strictly legal terms, the situation for white males today is worse than the situation for blacks under Plessy v. Ferguson's separate-but-equal doctrine. Blacks suffered unequal treatment under Plessy but the decision officially required equal treatment. Under today's civil rights regime, by contrast, white males can be legally discriminated against in university admissions, employment, and the allocation of government contracts.*

Imagine how things will be in 20 or 30 years if mass immigration continues.

Inexorably, the convergence of a sexual and racial "spoils system" coupled with the entrance of tens of millions of minority immigrants assures the growing Balkanization and polarization of American culture and politics. This divisiveness will be used as a pretext for more "affirmative action," "diversity," "inclusion," "political correctness," and censorship, as well as government and corporate intrusion into private life.

Demographics are the telling factor. As European-Americans come closer to minority status, it has to be asked: "In 30 or 40 years, who is going to lead Frum's 'long, arduous struggle'"?

TSC

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Escaping English Extinction

Ethnic fear and loathing in 'the old country'

by Derek Turner

LONDON

In Britain, "Europhobia" often approximates "Anglophobia." Confusingly enough for the present purposes, British patriots who are opposed to forcible membership in the European Union are often called "Europhobes" by politically correct people. Indeed, the European Union — which is not the "Fortress Europe" it is imagined to be by some — is an increasingly important anti-European force, seeking to break down all of Europe's intrinsic identities and turn Europe into a cosmopolitan combined theme park, shopping mall and counseling center.

This minor potential confusion hopefully dealt with, the term "Europhobia" is nonetheless still applicable to a certain British cultural phenomenon akin to that which is wrecking the United States. The Leftists, neo-conservatives and minority racists who are constantly attacking (or not defending) America's European-descended inhabitants unfortunately have their counterparts in the United Kingdom. Britain's mainstream political parties, much of the media, many academics, the trades unions, the civil service, and even supposedly apolitical lobby groups and charities are either actively trying to deconstruct Britain, or are silent because of fear, laziness or stupidity. Just as in America, British intellectual, cultural and political life is characterized by national self-loathing on the Left and national diffidence on the Right. The constant, deadly attacks being made by the Left are not resisted at all by the Right, or are resisted so ineffectually as merely to further demoralize the still numerous ranks of patriots who are ashamed neither of being British nor of being part of Western civilization.

There is a particular bias against the specifically English component of the British identity. The Scots, Welsh and Irish republican Northern Irish identities are allowed some expression, in the form of faux "nationalist" movements motivated by dislike of all things English (but with nothing to say about multiculturalism or political correctness) and encouraged by an increased administrative autonomy. The English identity — although St. George's Cross stickers often may be seen on taxi bumpers — is still not at all acceptable in polite circles. Saints Patrick, David and Andrew are all remembered on their respective Days, but George languishes in limbo.

Although the Union Jack, emblematic of a united Britain and long thought to be the flag merely of fascists, is now again acceptable, it has been turned into an ironic joke, a gaily-colored cloth to be made into swimsuits or waved sarcastically by art students. Britain is being speedily "rebranded" into "Cool Britannia," as Labor aides call it — a breezy, informal, classless, non-sexist, non-racist, non-British (and, by implication, Toryless) place where all can come to live and draw benefits and be "vibrant." This shiny new British identity is not patriotism as it is commonly understood. Nobody will die for dress designers or the Spice Girls. It is possible that true British nationalism may never be revived, now that the Empire is no more and the monarchy is under sustained attack.

English ethnic cleansing is, of course, strongly supported by the Labor Government. The notion that New Labor is somehow "conservative" because it has adopted certain free market policies is risible. At heart, Labor is still the same anti-British party it has been for decades, except that it has exchanged

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socialism for deconstructionism, Marx for Derrida. The attitude of Labor was summed up succinctly in *Current Archaeology*, March 1998: "The present government regards 'heritage' as something backward looking and undesirable. The new in-word is culture." These cultures must be regarded as equal, and "equally valid," just as Labor's present Culture Minister believes that Bob Dylan is as "valid" as Keats. Labor believes that the indigenous British people have no prescriptive rights (although, of course, Leftist theorists have long maintained that Third World indigenous peoples should have precedence over colonists), and in effect wants to impose a Pol Potesque Year Zero.

But Anglophobia is expressed most obviously in the philosophy of "multiculturalism" which is now as prevalent here as in the United States. Thanks to decades of lax immigration policies, there are now more non-British school children in the Greater London area than British, but it is a safe bet that British Londoners will not be treated as other "minorities" when they finally become one several decades hence. Academics and senior politicians have now succeeded in making immigrants not just equal, but super-equal. It is almost *de rigueur* to lavish undeserved praise on the "new Britons" with an air of desperate bravado, to attack the majority way of life, to make flattering remarks about immigrants' imported lifestyles and to lend an often over-credulous ear to stories of racial discrimination. Some Labor politicians' ethnic slips show whenever they speak, such as Leicester MP Keith Vaz, who managed to blame even the failure of the Muslim-run BCCI bank on racism against the bank's (almost entirely Muslim) customers, or Hackney MP Diane Abbott, who hit the headlines last year when she complained about the "large numbers of blue-eyed, blonde" Finnish nurses working in London's hospitals, which are finding it hard to find British staff. But even white Labor politicians are running scared. Consider the obsequious remarks of Home Secretary, Jack Straw, one of Britain's most important politicians in October 1997: "Make no mistake: our diversity is a national strength, not a weakness and an opportunity, not a threat". In an influential report, a leading Blair adviser summed it up well when he said that Britain should be portrayed to the outside world as a "hybrid state" whose "national food is as diverse as roast beef, Indian *balti* and Chinese *dim sum*," all under the newly benevolent red, white and blue banner which may (embarrassingly for the Left) have flown at Trafalgar, but also flies at Elton John concerts. Local Labor Tammany Hall politicos are particular experts at massaging immigrants' egos. Many councils spend extravagantly on racially exclusive festivals, education, employment schemes, housing associations, social clubs, even homosexual meeting places and alcohol counseling centers.

Even Conservatives feel constrained sometimes to speak in Sunday-school platitudes about the often cited but rarely enumerated "benefits" of diversity. Senior Conservatives like William Hague and Michael Portillo have said that there are too few blacks in the Conservative Party, paving the way for the kind of quota systems that have already surfaced in Labor ranks. When Conservative peer Lord Tebbit made a few moderate remarks about the undesirability of multiculturalism, he was set upon by terrified party managers. William Hague, himself regarded as a right-wing extremist by some, said that Lord Tebbit's views were "outdated", adding that "we are in a multicultural society. We want to be part of that...if you don't want to be part of the [Conservative] team, get off the field". Hague did not bother to turn up at the funeral of Enoch Powell, the conservative thinker and politician who died in February this year, and who is already being consigned to the memory-hole because of his inconvenient views on race. Journalist Anne McElvoy recorded the reaction of one of her friends when they were talking about Powell: "You can't say he was brilliant. He was just a racist." The crass and contemptuous judgement encapsulates the shallowness and meanness of the "anti-racist" mind.

Labor has wholeheartedly embraced multiculturalism and is preparing the ground for an amnesty for illegal immigrants. "We may as well stop flying the Union Flag at airport and ferry terminals. The white flag of surrender would be more appropriate" said *The Sun* newspaper, commenting on the Home Secretary's decision not to pursue 55,000 illegal immigrants, a rare overt expression of what is unofficial policy. Indeed, £50,000 lottery money is to be used to fund a legal decisions database to help illegals to stay in the UK.

No institution is safe from the multicultural meddlers, half-mad from destructive glee and

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hypocritical self-satisfaction. Even the army, where of all places homogeneity and patriotism should be preserved, is producing multilingual recruiting literature, issuing military skullcaps, Sikh-style underwear, kosher and halal field rations and creating places of worship for minority religions in all military installations (even, eventually, ships and submarines) — with the predictable result that recruitment dropped by 15 percent in 1997. In the wake of a fatuous comment from the Prince of Wales that there should be some black faces in the elite Household Guards, the powerful Commission for Racial Equality threatened to take over recruitment unless the Army obtained more token black soldiers.

The legal system is another particular target. Policemen are always in the wrong, however often senior policemen may abase themselves before various "community groups." If they uphold the law in a strictly impartial way, they are insensitive racists; if a black man dies in police custody or in prison, wild conspiracy theories of racist murder are voiced loudly and riots can even be caused; if a policeman simply forgets something he can be traduced without recourse, as happened recently in the celebrated continuing case of Stephen Lawrence, a black teenager who was foully murdered in a London street by five persons still unknown. Ominously, ideological commitment to multiculturalism and "equal opportunities" is now being introduced into recruitment and training procedures by HM Inspectorate of Constabulary.

Benjamin Zephaniah, ex-burglar and rap poet, one of whose poems is entitled "Dis Policeman is Kicking me to Death," has been chosen as a member of the Government's National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education, one of a vast number of newly created committees set up to make Britain safe for everyone except for her native people. New guidelines were introduced in June 1997 for magistrates, saying that Muslims should be allowed to wash their hands before swearing on the Koran, which "should be wrapped up in a cloth cover and unwrapped by the follower of the faith." When the director general of the prison service said that black prisoners were more likely to die of positional aspyhyxia when being restrained than white prisoners, because of the greater prevalence of the sickle-cell anaemia condition amongst blacks, he was described as "racist and grossly offensive."

The anti-national forces constitute an immensely powerful alliance. Political parties actively in favor of radical change to British identity include Labor, the Liberal Democrats, the Scottish Nationalists, the Welsh Nationalists, the Greens and a whole host of smaller Left wing parties. There is a strong media contingent, from the *Guardian, Independent, Observer, Daily Mirror,* various ethnic newspapers, the BBC and Channel 4. All the major trades unions sponsor events and seminars on racism and all have "anti-racist charters", the sort of gibberish one might expect from a teachers' union, but which seems positively Kafkaesque from what one might think would be sensible unions like the Fire Brigade Union (who also have a Gay and Lesbian Network!).

But the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), which has considerable statutory powers under the 1976 Race Relations Act, is the main ethnic troublemaker. The CRE has seven offices in the UK, 200 staff (70 percent of whom are from ethnic minorities, a remarkable example of how selective is their vaunted color blindness) and a well-funded publishing arm, which publishes books on every conceivable topic, from *Women of Substance — Profiles of Asian Women in the UK,* guides for Japanese companies on how they should avoid inadvertently discriminating on grounds of race, and a book of mixed-race role models (once it was Drake — now it is romantic figures like Bob Purkiss, national secretary for equalities at the Transport and General Workers' Union and — wait for it! — director of the new European Union racism monitoring center).

The CRE is only the top of the ladder. Below there is a whole plethora of single-issue lobbies, some voluntary, most small, many mutually distrustful, but all too often publicly funded and influential. Virtually every town in the country or suburb of London has its own committees, task forces and assemblies against racism. An examination of literature obtained at the 1997 European Year Against Racism rock concert last year reveals the scale and the sheer comprehensiveness of this real "Ethnic Plot" —

Equal Opportunities Commission
Refugee Center
Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants
Institute for Public Policy Research
National Coalition Building Institute

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Working Group Against Racism in Children's Resources
Africans and Descendants Counseling Service
National Committee on Racism in Children's Books
Migrants' Forum
Migration Policy Group
Liberty
Society of Black Lawyers
Charter 88
Churches Commission for Racial Justice
Operation Black Vote
Union of Jewish Students
Runnymede Trust
Jewish Women's Aid
Barnet Asian Old People's Association
(the latter two ostensibly apolitical registered charities)
National Black Alliance
Black Employment Institute
International Black Women for Wages for Housework Campaign
1990 Trust
Amnesty International
INQUEST (which campaigns for those whose relatives have died in police custody)
Asian Chamber of Commerce
Cardinal Hume's Committee for the Caribbean
Jewish Council for Racial Equality
National Assembly Against Racism
Anti-Nazi League
Anti-Fascist Action
Searchlight magazine

Most of these groups and grouplets are relatively harmless, but the cumulative effect of all their ceaseless and virtually unchallenged activity is to create a climate of fear on the one hand and moral righteousness on the other which gravely endangers sensible political discourse and imperils social harmony.

Many of the above organizations are funded both by government and by fearful or left wing businesses like The Body Shop, Marks and Spencer, the Metropolitan Police, Tottenham Hotspur FC, Saatchi and Saatchi, Carlton TV, MTV and even CNN.

For example, Lloyds Bank sponsors the CRE's "Visible Women" campaign — a commemoration of various women from ethnic minorities whose achievements were "vital to many sectors of British society" — such world-famous figures as Claudia Jones from Trinidad, who founded the *West Indian Gazette* in 1958 (and who is buried beside Karl Marx) and Jayaben Desai, who led a strike in London in 1976. Confectionery manufacturers Rowntree Cadburys sponsor an Internet project for blacks. Business is absolutely terrified of being thought racist. Ford dropped a £250,000 advertisement because none of the actors in the advertisement were black — after one complaint was received.

This deeply ingrained bias against Britain on the part of the governing elites comes from different sources and differs both in degree and emphasis. To normal people, the sheer self-loathing of some establishmentarians is difficult to understand. As columnist Richard Littlejohn observed in mystification in the *Sun*: "I've never been able to fathom why people in positions of authority in Britain hate their own country and the vast majority of law-abiding people who pay their wages." Many opinion-formers either do not know that they have a national identity, or they discount its importance, or they feel embarrassed by it, or are even, in extreme cases, fearful of it, regarding it as an atavistic, primitive urge within their psyche which may, at last, be reasoned or legislated away. A good example of an establishment-minded figure is Robin Richardson, director of the Runnymede Trust and educational adviser to the county of Berkshire, a laborer in the withered undergrowth of the equal opportunities industry. He has expressed himself in favor of "rewriting history," finds the National Anthem "embarrassing" and flags "inherently divisive and oppositional," and said that he wished Dodi Fayed had married Diana, Princess of Wales, because it would have been "exciting" if the "most beautiful woman in the Western world, the epitome of European style, had married a symbol of Islam." Here is a man who has never even considered the possibility of possessing national pride, and who is dead to all romance and chivalry. Think of his inner life — and pity him!

But pity us much more, for we badly need what he wants to destroy — our British and Western inheritance, shaped by classicism and Christianity, our national identity as a particular people in a particular place at a particular time, contributing to human advancement and biodiversity. As Peter Hitchens of the *Daily Express* has perceptively noted, if we do not speak up now: "Whoever governs these islands a century from now may well say that we deserved to lose our independence, our language, our traditions and our culture." TSC

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Immigration and National Identity in Canada

Weak Canadian identity = high immigration?

by Mark Wegierski

In the search for the reasons behind the high rate of dissimilar immigration to countries like Canada today, it may be argued that insufficient attention is paid to "the crisis of national identity" in those countries. Canada's official immigration figures are five times per capita those of the United States — and possibly the highest per capita in the world. A country with an atrophied sense of identity finds nothing worthwhile to preserve, and therefore is completely open to immigration and to continuous social and political reconstruction. Even a media-barrage of "horror-stories" about abuses of immigration provisions and refugee-claims would be unlikely to change things very much if Canada's own identity is vaporous — fundamentally lacking in a galvanizing, mobilizing feeling for something worthwhile to defend.

Canada's identity is crisscrossed with lines of fracture. It must first be acknowledged that Canada really consists of "two nations" — English Canada and French Canada (Quebec). An unbelievable amount of political energy is diverted into "keeping Quebec in Canada." English Canada is itself a heterogeneous identity with at least three distinct regional cultures — the Maritimes (Atlantic Canada), Ontario, and Western Canada. English-Canadian national identity was never especially robust, and it has increasingly attenuated and atrophied since the 1960s. As Ray Conlogue has argued in his *Impossible Nation: The Longing for Homeland in Canada and Quebec* (Stratford, Ontario: The Mercury Press, 1996), English Canada was especially deficient in building up the "cultural-psychological" or imaginative aspects of its identity. With the worldwide fading of Britishness as a possible identity after 1945, English Canadians have been left with very little. Even the Canadian core tradition at its height appeared rather arid, consisting mostly of Lowland-Scots-Presbyterianism, Calvinist in religion, and Whig in politics, which seemed to perpetually war against any sense of Romantic nationalism or possible Celtic *phantasie.* Canadians of that era were, typically, especially stolid, unimaginative, and dull. Some historians have argued that the founding tradition of Canada was, in fact, nineteenth-century "reformism" or "radical liberalism" — rather than the high-Toryism originating with the United Empire Loyalists. The former, as opposed to the latter, would seem an especially inhospitable ground for building up a deeply-rooted, national, collective sense of purpose and meaning. The allure and temptation of American culture, which only increased as one went further into the Twentieth Century, was irresistible. Indeed, American pop-culture has overwhelmed English Canada to an almost unbelievable degree. In the post-1960s it would often be the case that Canadians would take U.S.-inspired trends (such as "rights-absolutism" or political correctness/multiculturalism) and push them so far "forward" that the U.S. would appear to be lagging by comparison. And it would often be the very extremity of this "progressive" drive that would constitute Canada's "distinctiveness" from the U.S.

Canada is one of the few Western countries where certain Left and left-liberal sectors identify themselves with what they consider to be a (Canadian) nationalism. (In a classic line in his *Patriot Game* book on Canada, Peter Brimelow described it as "one of the toadstools of history.") By this he meant that it was an artificial bureaucratic growth predicated on the annihilation of true national sentiment. However, the suggested solution of the absorption of English Canada into what in the 1980s appeared to Brimelow to be a distinctly more

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robust U.S., is highly questionable, as well. *True* English-Canadian nationalism must also be ferociously anti-American, as George Parkin Grant, Canada's leading traditionalist thinker, stresses again and again in his writings. It may even be argued that Canadian Left-nationalism is at times not entirely devoid of more positive possibilities.

The Canadian federal election of June 2, 1997, pointed to the very regionalized nature of Canada today. Out of a total of 301 seats, the Liberals won 155 seats, including 101 of 103 seats in Ontario. The right-leaning Reform Party won 60 seats, all of them from Western Canada. The Bloc Québécois won 44 seats in Quebec. The social democrats (New Democratic Party) (21 seats), and the traditional center-right party (the Progressive Conservatives) (20 seats) received most of their support from Atlantic Canada. (There was also one liberal independent elected.)

"Canada, lacking a coherent sense of its own identity and purpose, lies open to virtually any minority- or victim-based claims of the current-day world."

The difficulties of a "small-c conservative English-Canadian" electoral victory ever emerging in the Canadian polity were highlighted by Reform's failure to break through in Ontario. The harsh mathematics is that, with Quebec's representation amounting to a quarter of the seats in the federal Parliament, a party based solely in English Canada (or what is sometimes ironically called TROC — the rest of Canada) would have to win two-thirds of the seats in English Canada to form a majority government — an almost impossible feat. To this has to be added the almost automatic exclusion of a "small c-conservatism" from heavily-immigrant, large-metropolitan areas, notably Toronto, with its over 30 seats.

In addition, the smaller Progressive Conservative Party is adamantly against forming any kind of association with the Reform Party. Although a Reform-Progressive Conservative coalition on geographic lines would appear advantageous to both parties (i.e. Reform in Western Canada, PCs elsewhere) Jean Charest, the leader of the PCs, has been particularly vehement in his denunciations of Reform Party leader Preston Manning. Perhaps Reform's chances of forming the federal government will only come about in a new situation of crisis, if Quebec finally decides to separate through a referendum vote. (In the October 1995 referendum in the province of Quebec, a process leading to separation came within a half-a-percentage point of endorsement.)

Canada, lacking a coherent sense of its own identity and purpose, lies open to virtually any minority- or victim-based claims of the current-day world. One issue which may be seen as symbolic of the troubles of Canada is that of relations with the aboriginal peoples — Canadian Indians, Métis, and Inuit (Eskimo). In late November 1996, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Issues, which had been launched five years earlier, reached its conclusions. The cost of the inquiry process alone was $58 million dollars (it was calculated that the report cost about $13,000 per page). What the report recommended was that the federal government simply give two billion more dollars per year to the aboriginal peoples over a period of twenty years (i.e. $40 billion dollars). Otherwise, "violence was inevitable." The fact is that aboriginal peoples currently receive about $11,000 per capita in benefits, and are exempt from income tax. The report also recommended virtually total sovereignty for about 100 aboriginal "nations." In a blistering condemnation the *Toronto Sun*, a major Toronto newspaper (November 24, 1996), said that a rejection of this entire report would be a good point at which to start to question the entire victimological mentality which has increasingly taken hold in Canada.

Although the *Toronto Sun* did not say this, it may be argued that Canada's identity as a society is compromised and delegitimized by the double-barrelled assault of the aboriginal peoples (who wish to lay exclusive claim to all the traditional benefits of a native-born population, immemorially tied and rooted to the soil) and of multiculturalism (all the visible minorities who claim "absolute cultural self-determination," as well as extensive entitlements on the basis of past and present victimization of all

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persons of color, by all white, European peoples). It may be noticed that English-Canadians, and increasingly even the French-Canadians/Québécois, are not left with any meaningful social and cultural claims to stand on. As for "white ethnics" such as Ukrainian-, Italian-, Portuguese- and Polish-Canadians, their role has apparently been that of supporters of multiculturalism in a brief, earlier incarnation, when it was supposed to benefit mainly them — and then, with the ever-increasing arrival of visible minorities, their re-classification as part of "the oppressive majority." It may indeed be argued that far from offering a real plurality of distinct, worthwhile *cultures* (such as the colorful folk-cultures of Eastern European ethnic groups), Canada today represents *one* hyper-liberal culture (having most of its aspects defined by the lowest-common-denominator on Earth of American pop-culture) — with the most multiracial population on Earth!

"Any nation on the crowded European continent that had adopted internationalism as an outlook would have simply ended up as carrion for its neighbors."

It might well be argued that the Canada of today is as far removed from a traditional conception of European nationalism as has ever been possible in human history. Persons somewhat influenced by or aware of such traditions cannot help but experience high degrees of "cognitive dissonance" and *anomie*, living in such a society. In those earlier societies, one had been taught to cherish one's national and/or religious heritage as a priceless patrimony, which had to be the touchstone of one's existence, constantly fought and striven for, and never spoken of except in the most reverential terms. Any nation on the crowded European continent that had adopted internationalism as an outlook would have simply ended up as carrion for its neighbors. While nationalism doubtless had its dark side (from the universally-known phenomenon of Nazi Germany, to the virtually unknown phenomenon of Ukrainian fascism) it could far more often be a focus for the most exalted, high-minded expressions of the human spirit. The cherishing of, high respect, and high regard for one's own national group is what is virtually forbidden today — to almost all European peoples. With every year, the weight of political-correctness/multiculturalism becomes heavier on the backs of European and European-descended societies. As the self-induced guilt of Europeans is continually ratcheted up, they become ashamed of merely existing. What all this will lead to appears to be that these groups will in fact become the new pariahs, while constantly accused of being cruel and harsh oppressors — the latter simply being a rationalization and cover-up for their actual dispossession. In the end, it seems that the only thing that can assuage white liberal guilt is the complete effacement of European civilization. What also has particularly tragic dimensions is that this appears to be an ever-tightening process, from which there can be no conceptual escape possible for those societies.

It is now becoming increasingly apparent that — at the very minimum — the U.S., and especially Canada, will constitute a new kind of thoroughgoing, albeit nonviolent totalitarianism, imposed through the virtual univocality of the mass media and education systems (including higher education). What was obvious about old-fashioned Communism (particularly in Eastern Europe) was the extent to which many persons in those societies hated the system. Resisters could feel themselves cheered on by their societies, which made their sufferings in the Gulag (or in the later authoritarian phase of the regimes, of material deprivation and the blocking of their career paths) meaningful. Characterizations of opponents of Communism as "Nazi collaborators," "fascists," "reactionaries," "religious fanatics and obscurantists," or merely as "unscientific" and "superstitious," though they were certainly employed, were not generally accepted by a significant proportion of people in the society. The fact is that Communism was in most cases crudely imposed "from above." The current regimes, however, are constructed on the basis of a thoroughgoing permeation of ideology, apparently "from below." One may suspect that at some point, if current trends and directions continue uninterrupted and unopposed, every nook and

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cranny of such a society will be thoroughly filled with the ideology. The mere existence of resisters might then be seen as so provocative as to warrant "active measures." But at that time, far from feeling the tacit, warm support of much of their society, such resisters will find themselves utterly reviled, as "hatemongers," "racists," "bootstomping Nazis," etc., by a thoroughly brainwashed populace — often even by their own families and friends. They will find themselves — and the future — utterly without hope.

One of the most obvious strategies for creating the illusion of "bottom-up change" is the siphoning of enormous state resources to politically-minded bureaucracies, and special-interest groups, under the pretext of the welfare-state. It may be said here that, looking at the comparatively harsh nature of capitalism half-a-century, or a century ago, such welfare innovations as old-age pensions, health-care insurance, subsidies to higher education, etc., seemed to have been eminently justifiable. However, the extension of a nation's citizenship to (putatively) everyone on the planet; and the siphoning of state resources to politically-minded bureaucracies, and special-interest groups, have severely strained the initial premises of the welfare-state. The effective death of the notion of citizenship means the eventual death of the welfare-state, and the devolution to "Brazilification."

In discussing the disbursements of the welfare-state, it is important to distinguish between administrative, mostly politically-neutral entitlements such as old-age pensions, and the establishment of clearly politically-minded bureaucracies, as well as the conferring of huge grants to special-interest groups. Because of the two latter phenomena, there is hardly a "social activist" that does not live well at public expense, one way or another. Not only are these kinds of persons seemingly driving society to oblivion, many of them are doing it — figuratively speaking — in gold-plated, chauffeur-driven limousines. (Just how many hundreds of thousands of lucrative, well-paying positions, whose main work-requirements are the minutiae of the day-to-day advancement of the left-liberal agenda, will ever be enough for these people?) There is also the whole issue of the corporate foundations and philanthropies, much of whose money apparently also goes to these types of groups. (The extent of the Ford Foundation's funding of the pro-immigration lobby has often been pointed out in the pages of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.) Some studies in Canada have indicated that the corporate sector has carried out "employment equity" (affirmative-action) policies more thoroughly than even the federal civil service!

The harsh criticisms often expressed by neoconservatives of the welfare-state — as typified in David Frum's writing — appear to ignore many of the above aspects of the situation, which have truly made the welfare-state untenable. Frum appears to rage against "middle-class entitlements," calling for slash-and-burn approaches to old-age pensions, healthcare, etc., yet at the same time finds little to complain about in the abuse of welfare and healthcare by illegal immigrants. What he seems to be saying is that decent, hardworking middle-class persons do not deserve the benefits of the welfare-state, whereas the undifferentiated mass of "poor" — including illegal immigrants — should have these benefits maximized. It might be noted that apart from the manifest injustice of such a stance, the adoption of such a configuration of "welfare-reform" by the Republican Party would be politically suicidal.

"...'social activist' groups would probably quickly wither to very little if they were not constantly infused with taxpayers' money."

What should particularly be noticed about grants to special-interest groups is that, even if they constitute a relatively insignificant part of the government budget, this is money which is spent explicitly on *political* activities. For example, the annual budget of the Canadian National Action Committee on the Status of Women, the main feminist lobby group, is comparable to that of the Reform Party of Canada. Yet, virtually all of NAC's funding consists of taxpayers' money, handed over by the government with virtually no debate, whereas the Reform Party has to raise its funds on the basis of constant, ongoing, honest popular appeal. The dense networks and layers of "social activist" groups

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would probably quickly wither to very little, if they were not constantly infused with taxpayers' money. In fact, deprived of their subsidies, they might even be left with less influence than the few small existing right-leaning groups, such as the Voice of Canadians Committees, and the Immigration Association of Canada, which not do not receive any government money, and have to break through the hostile media and educational climate.

Although it is relatively easy for some to see and point out what would need to be done today, the summoning up of the resources to save whatever remains of traditional Canada appears to be a Sisyphean labor. It appears that Canada will be among the first of the European-descended societies to be transmogrified into something decidely different. The tendency of Canadian history, for at least the last thirty years, has been that, whenever there was even a glimmer of hope that the surge towards the socially-liberal, multicultural, engorged welfare-state "utopia" could be arrested, those hopes were quickly dashed.

It still remains an issue of debate whether the United States has any greater hope for the future than Canada. The United States, is, among other things, the very center of global political-correctness, as well of the highly corrosive, hyper-materialist, pop-culture which might well find itself able to digest even such countervalent tendencies as Iranian theocracy - leading to the "universal, homogenous, world-state." Nevertheless, the flow and shape of immigration from the Southern countries, into North America, will be critical in determining what kinds of lives we will be living in the future. To put it bluntly, the less such immigration there is, the better virtually all people's lives in North America will be (including those of the most recent immigrants!). It is only a comforting illusion to think that countries such as Canada, Australia, the United States, or for that matter, even France, Germany, or Poland, will continue to exist "forever" as their demographic make-up radically shifts. This is not what history teaches us. As *Village Voice* writer Lawrence Chua stated in his review of Peter Brimelow's *Alien Nation*: "His fear is justified. We will bury him." (c.f., THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, Fall 1996, Vol. VII, no. 1, p. 62.)

Who decided there should be such an intake policy in the first place — certainly not the majority of the people of Canada — as opposed to a fragment of the elites. Yet it is precisely these elites that benefit most from newcomers as new client-groups and voters for the welfare state. At the same time, these elite-groups are best able to insulate themselves from the negative consequences of this massive, dissimilar immigration.

Can such an immigration policy be seen as in any way *normal* or *natural*, in relation to the life of *any* nation? Is such mass immigration into the West now to be accepted with a resigned sense of inevitability, or can any Western state ever reassert control over its borders?

More specifically, is not the "refugee" immigration category in Canada an underhanded method for doubling the immigration total?

Why *should* the West invariably multiculturalize itself, while all non-Western countries remain emphatically themselves? Finally, is not the multiculturalization of the West over the long term tantamount to the effacement of European ideas, ideals, beliefs, and in the end, populations? It might indeed be called — to all intents and purposes — a form of "slow genocide" or of "death on the installment plan."

Deep and profound concern about the troubled future and possible grim destiny of one's own people, nation, and civilization cannot be easily dismissed.

It may be argued that the "emergency-situation" of late modernity into which — as Heidegger put it — we are all thrown, imposes on serious social and political thought the necessity of the embrace of a defined polarization, which might have looked or seemed superfluous or unnecessary, overly self-consciously axiological, or even somewhat overwrought, in earlier times. Heidegger had also pointed out that, however chaotic the situation already appears, late modernity may well be just beginning.

Canada — despite its current embrace of many disintegrative trends — has up until now remained a safer, cleaner, less crime- and corruption-prone and more civil society than the U.S. However, insofar as some of the rambunctiousness of U.S. conservatism or populism can be directed into taming the immigration flood, then, ultimately, it is the United States (or certain regions thereof) that might emerge as better places to live, in the 21st century and beyond. TSC

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The Portland Speech

President Clinton acknowledges demographic change but evades the real consequences

by Roy Beck

Addressing Portland State University's graduates this spring, President Clinton offered a candid and essentially accurate view of the math of immigration that previous Commanders-in-Chief had concealed from the American people.

But he displayed an embarrassing lack of understanding of the history, economics, political science and sociology of immigration.

As for the math: no previous president had contested Lyndon Johnson's assurances at the time of the immigration policy changes in 1965 that immigration is not designed to — and indeed won't — significantly change the ethnic and cultural composition of the United States.

Clinton has officially ended that charade.

Although Clinton had previously talked about the impending shift of America's European-descended citizens into minority status, this was the first time he cited the cause as being U.S. immigration policy. That also appeared to be the first time any U.S. president has acknowledged that federal immigration policy will — if left unchanged — transfer the United States into the hands of a population predominantly of descendants of people who, in 1965, were citizens of foreign countries.

That, however, was about as clear as the President got in his speech that was supposed to define what he called one of the three great challenges to this country: "how can we strengthen the bonds of national community as we grow more racially and ethnically diverse?"

In trying to answer that question, the President stumbled badly in several academic departments.

Department of Political Science

While talking loftily about democracy, Clinton never once noted that the United States has a political system that theoretically gives the American people a choice in whether they are supplanted by a foreign population.

He acknowledged that immigration is causing demographic revolution. But he never admitted that the immigration is caused by the U.S. government, or that Washington could change the policy and stop the revolution. Listening to Clinton, one would assume that the "new, large wave of immigration" is an inevitable historic force we can only react to.

In Clinton's Portland view, Americans have only two choices: (a) behave nastily toward immigrants, take away benefits and exclude them "from our civic life," or (b) celebrate the current immigration wave and help the newcomers assimilate to our country.

Where does Clinton fit those of us who want immigration reduced by 70 to 80 percent — toward a more traditional level — and who also are eager for immigrants already here to participate fully in the American culture and economy? Since he didn't mention that political possibility, we don't know. But it is difficult not to feel incorporated into the group

Items in this Section

President Clinton made a major policy speech on immigration as a commencement address at Portland (OR) State University on June 13, 1998.

After this analysis by The Social Contract's Washington Editor Roy Beck, we reprint the main points of the President's speech.

This is followed by three contrasting viewpoints by Gregory Wilcox of ZPG-Boston, Jack Martin of the Federation for American Immigration Reform, and Harold Gilliam, noted environment preservationist of the San Francisco Bay area.

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that Clinton said feels "unsettled" by the rapid demographic revolution. Those people who are "afraid the America they know and love is becoming a foreign land" are "wrong," he said. And then he seemed to link every "unsettled" American with anti-immigrant actions and sentiments which he pronounced as "un-American."

On the other hand, the President condemned those who "condone" illegal immigration: "Even a nation of immigrants must have rules and conditions and limits..." Are we to infer that Clinton understands that to set limits is to acknowledge that too many immigrants truly can turn a country into a land that is so different as to be "foreign?"

"Clinton was even more politically confused about what is being proposed by most Americans who disagree with present quadrupled levels of legal immigration."

Clinton was even more politically confused about what is being proposed by most Americans who disagree with the present quadrupled levels of legal immigration. He warned all of us descendants of immigrants not to "lock the door behind us." Who is talking about locking a door? While a small minority of immigration reformers call for zero immigration, all the national reform organizations call for continued immigration that is similar to levels that existed in America's history before 1965.

And those Americans whose ancestors came not as immigrants but as slaves would show supreme ingratitude for recent improvements in civil rights if they complained about what immigration is doing to the schools, neighborhoods and job markets where American blacks are disproportionately found, according to Clinton.

Department of Economics

President Clinton suggests that mass importation of foreign workers may be the salvation of our Social Security system: "Immigrants are paying into Social Security at record rates." Yes, that is true; we've never had this many immigrants to pay before. But Clintoin went on: "Most of them are young, and they will help to balance the budget when we baby boomers retire and put strains on it."

How interesting! Under the current immigration mix, the average foreign worker earns considerably less income and pays considerably fewer taxes than does the average native worker. The Center for Immigration Studies examined 1992 tax payments and Social Security pay-outs of old age, survivor and disability benefits. It discovered that while native-born Americans paid $19 billion more into the Social Security fund than they took out, immigrants took out more than they paid in.

Clinton will have to come up with a novel economic theory to explain how a population that is a net drain on Social Security will, take care of Baby Boomers in their old age. Also, Clinton fails to understand that the system's problem is not too few workers paying in today but too few paying after around 2010. All the foreign workers brought into the country prior to that will add to the retirement bulge. In fact, one of the reasons the system is facing such a threat is because half of all immigrants currently in the United States will have reached retirement age by 2020.

The President also somehow concluded that although the average American native does not pay as much in taxes as per capita government expenditures (that's why we have such budget deficits), "immigrants pay $1,800 more in taxes every year than they cost our system in benefits." The National Academy of Science last year concluded almost the opposite — that immigrants in California, for example, underpay taxes by such a large amount that the average California native must pay more than $1,000 extra in taxes to cover the costs that immigrants don't cover.

Department of Urban Sociology

According to the President, immigrants are "revitalizing our cities." Has he checked out Miami or Los Angeles recently? How about New York City's crumbling school system?

Actually, Clinton mentioned the "crumbling inner city schools" where "too many Americans, and far too many immigrant children" attend in crowded conditions. But without immigration, the country's school children would be attending classes in uncrowded conditions with only a few more schools than were standing in the late 1970s. Since then, the vast majority of the increase in public school

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enrollment has been from the children of immigrants.

The quickest way to stop exacerbating the overcrowding would be to stop adding children through the nation's immigration program. Clinton suggested increasing federal funding. Suggestions are easy. But after six years in office, he has yet to actually propose the tens of billions of additional dollars that various studies have said it would take to fully accommodate the swelling immigrant school populations.

Clinton conceded that rapid demographic transition and multi-cultural populations have not worked very well in other countries: "Around the world we see what can happen when people who live on the same land put race and ethnicity before country and humanity ... immigration of this sweep and scope could threaten the bonds of our union."

But the President believes it is worth the risk in order to conduct a gigantic sociological experiment to see if the United States can succeed where no other country has. The reason, according to the President, is so this country can become a model for all the other multi-cultural,. multi-religious, multi-lingual countries of the world that are "increasingly gripped with tense, often bloody conflicts rooted in racial, ethnic and religious divisions."

Department of History

The President can be so cavalier in his treatment of immigration's likely effects in the future because he has such a distorted view of immigration's effects in the past.

"America has constantly drawn strength and spirit from wave after wave of immigrants," he said. A fairly dispassionate reading of most economic and cultural histories of massive waves of immigration would find great economic disparity, wage depression, overcrowded public facilities and versions of the ethnic and religious tensions that Clinton ascribed to other countries. While there have always been benefits as well, Clinton's sanitizing of the past prevents him from paying attention to those very same signs of societal deterioration in today's America. While lauding the many fine benefits of the current long economic boom, Clinton failed to note that we have over the last three decades of mass immigration become one of the most economically disparate peoples in the advanced world and in our own history.

Clinton romanticized immigrants to the denigration of America's traditional Afro-descent and Euro-descent citizens. Clinton indicated that this country has needed the new immigrants to energize our culture and renew our most basic values. Such an assessment perhaps comes from his view of history. He believes that immigrants have always been superior to the Americans living in the country at any given time. The immigrants, according to Clinton, were the more adventurous, the more innovative and the more industrious. One must suppose that the children and grandchildren of immigrants become as shiftless, sterile and tired as the earlier Americans, thus requiring constant replenishment from the more vibrant citizens of other countries.

In Clinton's view of history, opposition to mass immigration has always been a result of Americans who are bigoted, as he reiterated the usual narrow description of resistance to mass arrivals from Ireland and China. The renewal of mass immigration these past thirty years is a sign that "the better angels of our nature prevailed over ignorance and insecurity, over prejudice and fear," he said.

If the President would look at immigration today through more accurate historical lenses, he might be able to understand the American people far better. He would see that the huge influx of Irish newcomers before the Civil War drove free black Americans out of major skilled and semi-skilled occupations. Among the greatest forces decrying the Irish arrivals were abolitionist white Protestants. Among the most fierce opponents of mass Chinese immigration a few decades later were Irish and other immigrants trying to protect the wages and working conditions they had earned after several years. Opposition to mass immigration has always included sincere concerns about economic fairness, working conditions, urban order, social tranquility and educational quality.

But there also have always been some Americans who opposed immigration purely on the basis that they did not like the nationality that was arriving. That apparently is all the President can see — in the past and today. Perhaps that is why he believed it important in Portland to raise as a cause for cheering the current trend that will during the next century make a minority out of the Americans whose ancestors founded and built this country.

TSC

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President Clinton's Speech on Diversity

A major policy statement made at Portland, OR

[Editor's note: *On June 13, 1998 President Clinton gave the commencement address at Portland (OR) State University in which he laid out his administration's policy regarding immigration. Moving beyond the introductory comments, we present the main body of the speech. Following references to his previous addresses at the Naval Academy on security matters, and at MIT on the information age, the president began the discussion of race and ethnicity in America.*]

Today I want to talk to you about what may be the most important subject of all — how we can strengthen the bonds of our national community as we grow more racially and ethnically diverse.

It was just a year ago tomorrow that I launched a national initiative on race, asking Americans to address the persistent problems and the limitless possibilities of our diversity. This effort is especially important right now because, as we grow more diverse, our ability to deal with the challenges will determine whether we can really bind ourselves together as one America. And even more importantly in the near-term, and over the next few years, perhaps, as well, our ability to exercise world leadership for peace, for freedom, for prosperity in a world that is both smaller and more closely connected, and yet increasingly gripped with tense, often bloody conflicts rooted in racial, ethnic and religious divisions — our ability to lead that kind of world to a better place rests in no small measure on our ability to be a better place here in the United States that can be a model for the world.

The driving force behind our increasing diversity is a new, large wave of immigration. It is changing the face of America. And while most of the changes are good, they do present challenges which demand more both from new immigrants and from our citizens. Citizens share a responsibility to welcome new immigrants, to ensure that they strengthen our nation, to give them their chance at the brass ring.

In turn, new immigrants have a responsibility to learn, to work, to contribute to America. If both citizens and immigrants do their part, we will grow ever stronger in the new global information economy.

More than any other nation on Earth, America has constantly drawn strength and spirit from wave after wave of immigrants. In each generation they have proved to be the most restless, the most adventurous, the most innovative, the most industrious of people. Bearing different memories, honoring different heritages, they have strengthened our economy, enriched our culture, renewed our promise of freedom and opportunity for all.

Of course, the path has not always run smooth. Some Americans have met each group of newcomers with suspicion and violence and discrimination. So great was the hatred of Irish immigrants 150 years ago that they were greeted with signs that read, "No Dogs Or Irish." So profound was the fear of Chinese in the 1880s that they were barred from entering the country. So deep was the distrust of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe at the beginning of this century that they were forced to take literacy tests specifically designed to keep them out of America.

Eventually the guarantees of our Constitution and the better angels of our nature prevailed over ignorance and insecurity, over prejudice and fear.

But now we are being tested again — by a new wave of immigration larger that any in a century, far more diverse than any in our history. Each year, nearly a million people come legally to America. Today, nearly one in ten people in America was born in another country; one in five schoolchildren is from immigrant families. Today, largely because of immigration, there is no majority race in Hawaii or Houston or New York City. Within five years there

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will be no majority race in our largest state, California. In a little more than 50 years there will be no majority race in the United States. No other nation in history has gone through demographic change of this magnitude in so short a time.

What do the changes mean? They can either strengthen and unite us, or they can weaken and divide us. We must decide.

Let me state my view unequivocally. I believe new immigrants are good for America. They are revitalizing our cities. They are building our new economy. They are strengthening our ties to the global economy, just as earlier waves of immigrants settled on the new frontier and powered the Industrial Revolution. They are energizing our culture and broadening our vision of the world. They are renewing our most basic values and reminding us all of what it truly means to be an American

"In a little more than 50 years there will be no majority race in the United States. No other nation in history has gone through demographic change of this magnitude in so short a time."

It means working hard, like a teenager from Vietnam who does his homework as he watches the cash register at his family's grocery store. It means making a better life for your children, like a father from Russia who works two jobs and still finds time to take his daughter to the public library to practice her reading. It means dreaming big dreams, passing them on to your children.

You have a lot of stories like that here at Portland State. Just this morning I met one of your graduates — or two, to be specific. Mago Gilson, an immigrant from Mexico who came here without a high school education. Twelve years later she is receiving her Master Degree in Education, on her way to realizing her dream of becoming a teacher.

She is joined in this class by her son Eddi, who had dreams of his own and worked full time for seven years to put himself through school. Today he receives a Bachelor's Degree in business administration. And soon — there's more. Soon her son Oscar, whom I also met, will receive his own Master's Degree in education. I'd like to ask the Gilsons and their family members who are here to rise and be recognized. There she is. Give them a hand.

In the Gilson family and countless like them, we see the spirit that built America — the drive to succeed, the commitment to family, to education, to work, the hope for a better life. In their stories we see a reflection of our parents' and grandparents' journey — a powerful reminder that our America is not so much a place as a promise; not a guarantee but a chance; not a particular race, but an embrace of our common humanity.

Now, some Americans don't see it that way. When they hear new accents or see new faces, they feel unsettled. They worry that new immigrants come not to work hard, but to live off our largesse. They're afraid the America they know and love is becoming a foreign land. This reaction may be understandable, but it's wrong. It's especially wrong when anxiety and fear give rise to policies and ballot propositions to exclude immigrants from our civic life. I believe it's wrong to deny law-abiding immigrants benefits available to everyone else; wrong to ignore them as people not worthy of being counted on the census. It's not only wrong, it's un-American.

Let me be clear: I also think it's wrong to condone illegal immigration that flouts our laws, strains our tolerance, taxes our resources. Even a nation of immigrants must have rules and conditions and limits, and when they are disregarded, public support for immigration erodes in ways that are destructive to those who are newly arrived and those who are still waiting patiently to come.

We must remember, however, that the vast majority of immigrants are here legally. In every measurable way, they give more to our society than they take. Consider this: on average, immigrants pay $1,800 more in taxes every year than they cost our system in benefits. Immigrants are paying into Social Security at record rates. Most of them are young, and they will help to balance the budget when we baby boomers retire and put strains on it.

New immigrants also benefit the nation in ways not so easily measured, but very important. We

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should be honored that America, whether it's called the City on a Hill, or the Old Gold Mountain, or El Norte, is still seen around the world as the land of new beginnings. We should all be proud that people living in isolated villages in far corners of the world actually recognize the Statue of Liberty. We should rejoice that children the world over study our Declaration of Independence and embrace its creed.

My fellow Americans, we descendants of those who passed through the portals of Ellis Island must not lock the door behind us. Americans whose parents were denied the rights of citizenship simply because of the color of their skin must not deny those rights to others because of the country of their birth or the nature of their faith.

We should treat new immigrants as we would have wanted our own grandparents to be treated. We should share our country with them, not shun them or shut them out. But, mark my words, unless we handle this well, immigration of this sweep and scope could threaten the bonds of our union.

Around the world we see what can happen when people who live on the same land put race and ethnicity before country and humanity. If America is to remain the world's most diverse democracy, if immigration is to strengthen America as it has throughout our history, then we must say to one another: whether your ancestors came here in slave ships or on the Mayflower, whether they landed on Ellis Island or at Los Angeles International Airport, or have been here for thousands of years, if you believe in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, if you accept the responsibilities as well as the rights embedded in them, then you are an American.

Only that belief can keep us one America in the 21st century. So I say, as President, to all our immigrants, you are welcome here. But you must honor our laws, embrace our culture, learn our language, know our history; and when the time comes, you should become citizens. And I say to all Americans, we have responsibilities as well to welcome our newest immigrants, to vigorously enforce laws against discrimination. And I'm very proud that our nation's top civil rights enforcer is Bill Lam Lee, the son of Chinese immigrants who grew up in Harlem.

We must protect immigrants' rights and ensure their access to education, health care, and housing and help them to become successful, productive citizens. When immigrants take responsibility to become citizens and have met all the requirements to do so, they should be promptly evaluated and accepted.

"Pride in one's ethnic and racial heritage must never become an excuse to withdraw from the larger American community."

The present delays in the citizenship process are unacceptable and indefensible. And together, immigrants and citizens alike, let me say we must recommit ourselves to the general duties of citizenship. Not just immigrants but every American should know what's in our Constitution and understand our shared history. Not just immigrants but every American should participate in our democracy by voting, by volunteering, and by running for office. Not just immigrants, but every American, on our campuses and in our communities, should serve — community service means good citizenship. And not just immigrants but every American should reject identity politics that seeks to separate us, not bring us together.

Ethnic pride is a very good thing. America is one of the places which most reveres the distinctive ethnic, racial, religious heritage of our various peoples. The days when immigrants felt compelled to Anglicize their last name or deny their heritage are, thankfully, gone. But pride in one's ethnic and racial heritage must never become an excuse to withdraw from the larger American community. That does not honor diversity; it breeds divisiveness. And that could weaken America.

Not just immigrants, but every American should recognize that our public schools must be more than places where our children learn to read, they must also learn to become good citizens. They must all be able to make America's heroes, from Washington to Lincoln to Eleanor Roosevelt and Rosa Parks and Cesar Chavez, their own.

Today, too many Americans, and far too many immigrant children, attend crowded, often

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crumbling, inner city schools. Too many drop out of school altogether. And with more children from immigrant families entering our country and our schools than at any time since the turn of the century, we must renew our efforts to rebuild our schools and make them the best in the world. They must have better facilities; they must have smaller classes; they must have properly trained teachers; they must have access to technology; they must be the best in the world.

All of us, immigrants and citizens alike, must ensure that our new group of children learn our language, and we should find a way to do this together instead of launching another round of divisive political fights.

In the schools within just a few miles of the White House, across the Potomac River, we have the most diverse school district in America, where there are children from 180 different racial and ethnic groups, speaking as native tongues about 100 languages.

Now, its all very well for someone to say everyone of them should learn English immediately. But we don't at this time necessarily have people who are trained to teach them English in all those languages. So I say to you, it is important for children to retain their native language. But unless they also learn English, they will never reach their full potential in the United States.

Of course, English is learned at different rates, and, of course, children have individual needs. But that cannot be an excuse for making sure that when children come into our school system, we do whatever it takes with whatever resources are at hand to make sure they learn as quickly as they can the language that will be the dominant language of this country's commerce and citizenship in the future.

We owe it to these children to do that. And we should not either delay behind excuses or look for ways to turn what is essentially a human issue of basic decency and citizenship and opportunity into a divisive political debate. We have a stake together in getting together and moving forward on this.

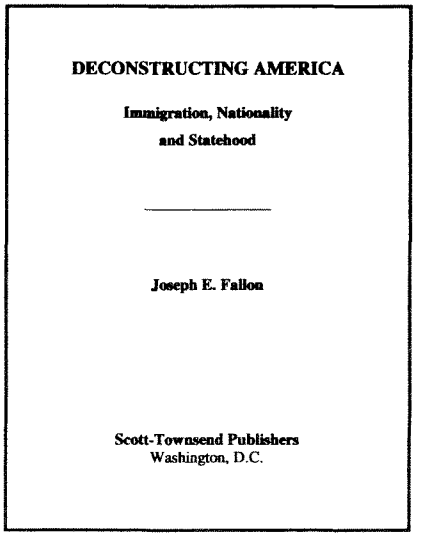
Let me say, I applaud the students here at Portland State who are tutoring immigrant children to speak and read English. You are setting the kind of example I want our country to follow.

One hundred and forty years ago, in the First Lady's hometown of Chicago, immigrants outnumbered native Americans. Addressing a crowd there in 1858, Abraham Lincoln asked what connection those immigrants could possibly feel to people like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, who foundedour nation. Here was his answer: if they, the immigrants, look back through this history to trace their connection to those days by blood, they will find they have none. But our founders proclaimed that we are all created equal in the eyes of God. And that, Lincoln said, is the electric cord in that declaration that links the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving people everywhere.

Well, that electric cord, the conviction that we are all created equal in the eyes of God, still links every graduate here with every new immigrant coming to our shores and every American who ever came before us. If you carry it with conscience and courage into the new century, it willlight our way to America's greatest days — your days.

So, members of the Class of 1998, go out and build the future of your dreams. Do it together, for your children, for your grandchildren, for your country.

Good luck, and God bless you. TSC



In **Deconstructing America: Immigration, Nationality and Statehood,** Joseph Fallon gives a detailed account, with statistical and legal data, of ongoing decline of U.S. ethnic and cultural homogeneity. The author reviews the numerous congressional acts and legal decisions currently undermining U.S. sovereignty in favor of international treaties and controlling organizations.

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Clinton Should Not Link Race and Immigration

by Gregory Wilcox

In his commencement address at Portland State University, President Clinton urged Americans not to shun immigrants. Knowingly or not, Clinton is making the classic mistake of tangling the issues of immigration and race. He is playing into the hands of Republicans, who support unlimited immigration to feed the U.S. job market. This, in turn, benefits businesses that thrive on cheap labor. It simultaneously shuns the needs for our growing segment of unskilled citizens who are already established here.

Clinton appears to care deeply about the issue of race. He began a "national conversation" on race one year ago, which resulted in the *One America* initiative. He understands how divisiveness caused by racial prejudice has crippled this country, and prevented it from being the great nation he wants to lead. If his initiative leads to a healing of the rifts of prejudice, it will be the greatest accomplishment of his presidency, and his enduring legacy.

Unfortunately, however, Clinton has confused race with immigration. The "politically correct" rationale is as follows: limiting the number of immigrants would send the message that they are not wanted. And since immigrants are mostly people of color, that could be interpreted as a prejudiced policy. It would send a message to the ethnic communities that relatives and friends from their homelands are not welcome here. A sizeable and growing number of Americans are minorities; soon whites too will become minorities. Demographers predict that sometime after 2010 there will be more Americans of Hispanic descent than Anglo-Saxon. So Clinton, ever the politician, is careful not to send the wrong message. Hence his plea to "share our country with immigrants, not shun them or shut them out." He knows who his constituents are.

But the fact of the matter is that race and immigration are separate issues. The race issue, as it is perceived today, is mostly about lingering biases which prevent minorities from achieving true equality with whites. This remains true despite the Civil Rights Act, Affirmative Action, and many other laws which make overt discrimination a crime. Many in this country still do not appreciate or value the contributions of ethnic Americans. They need to understand that racial diversity is a good thing. *All* Americans, past and present, working together, made this country what it is today.

Immigration, on the other hand, is more about government policy regarding the number and kind of foreigners who are admitted to this country. This policy, in turn, affects most other government functions: everything from welfare to education to labor to drug interdiction to foreign aid. In deciding whom to admit, the government muist plan not only for the skills and strengths they will bring, but also for the services they will require and the effect on their native land.

It is true that there is overlap between these issues. Many Americans are immigrants or descendants of immigrants. Many of them have a personal interest in immigration policy, and would like to be reunited with loved ones from home. However, Americans in general favor much lower limits on

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immigration. Perhaps not surprisingly, this is also true of minorities. They see the negative consequences of runaway population growth as well as anyone.

Immigration, like racial diversity is a good thing. It is a source of strength, creativity, vitality and innovation. This country was founded by immigrants, and they have made it the great nation it is today.

But it's possible to have too much of a good thing. For centuries, America was a vast and boundless frontier, brimming with seemingly inexhaustible natural resources. That was while this country was young and still had room to grow. But no more. We are beginning to find our limits.

What used to be a source of strength has unintentionally become a force of destruction. This country has long since reached its carrying capacity, and yet immigrants are arriving in record numbers. Our ability to accommodate them — regardless of nationality — is severely compromised.

All Americans, by nature of their citizenship, enjoy certain rights and freedoms: liberty, justice, education, and housing being some of the major ones. For each new citizen, the government must add more services to provide these entitlements. It does so by carving ever deeper into our natural resources. It builds new police stations, courts, jails, schools, colleges, and public housing. And then it builds the necessary supporting infrastructure: new roads, highways, bridges, and parking lots. As it does so, the pie is divided into ever-smaller pieces.

In striving to provide entitlements to all citizens — even new ones — we forget that our natural resources are also an entitlement. Unlike the others, it is not guaranteed in the Constitution. (Perhaps it should be: "As an American you have the right to breathe clean air, to drink pure water, to eat food which is uncontaminated by pesticides or other toxins.") Unfortunately our natural resources are finite. By continuing to divide them into ever-smaller pieces, we compromise and eventually deplete them entirely. Ecosystems become fragments, genetic diversity is lost, air and water quality fall. As a result, we all suffer.

TSC

Who Is Managing Immigration?

by Jack Martin

President Clinton has an unnerving habit of saying things that fuel the hope that he has finally discovered what is really happening in our society, and then dashing that hope with politically correct aphorisms that expose his comments as cynical throwaways. He did it again on June 13.

In a commencement address at Portland State University, the president chose to link his race relations initiative to immigration. He was right. Immigration is, of course, an essential element shaping the trend in race relations and what the future may hold. That linkage has been missing from the debate so far. Clinton correctly noted that immigrants are entering the country at record levels and that, in the process they are driving a process of rapid ethnic change in the country. He then hit the nail on the head when he noted: "The driving force behind our increasing diversity is a new, large wave of immigration. It is changing the face of America.... We cannot be blind to the fact that immigration of this sweep and scope can threaten our union."

Perhaps President Clinton

***Jack Martin** is special projects director at FAIR, the Federation for American Immigration Reform.*

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finally was taking his cue from the message of Barbara Jordan, who chaired the Commission on Immigration Reform, that "...it is both a right and a responsibility of a democratic society to manage immigration so that it serves the national interest." Perhaps he was finally reacting to the fact that his Council of Economic Advisors has noted for a couple of years in their annual report to him that current immigration is contributing to the growing income inequality in the nation. Or, maybe someone has shown him the research finding by the Federation for American Immigration Reform that large-scale immigrant settlement coincides with a diminishing middle class.

Was the president concerned about this weakening of one of the major elements that characterizes American society? Was he announcing an initiative toward managing immigration in the national interest?

Unfortunately, his message was the opposite. We have to rejoice in the current wave of immigrants and help them adjust, he said. They are good for America, he said. In essence, the president's message was that there is nothing wrong with the "sweep and scope" of current immigration, even though it can threaten the nation. We shouldn't be trying to manage it better. Instead of questioning where immigration is taking us we should be trying to manage how the American people feel about immigration. Apparently the president's view is that the American people should welcome the weakening middle class and the growing income inequality.

This preaching by the president that it is our duty to accept what he says is good for America and that we must change our way of thinking evokes the efforts of communist regimes to create a "new man." The rulers in the Kremlin and their emulators believed that the socialist economy should not have to conform to human nature, but rather human nature should be changed to permit the socialist economy to work.

"Apparently the President's view is that the American people should welcome the weakening middle class and the growing income inequality."

The collapse of communism demonstrated the fallacy of any policy that is predicated on changing human nature. This is not to apologize for intolerance or prejudice. Those negative human traits must never be given unnecessary oxygen to fuel their combustion. But, it is irresponsible to expect large segments of our population which are experiencing some of the negative aspects of large-scale immigration to suspend their critical reasoning powers and join the cheer-leading team for new immigrants.

The Clinton Administration professes to be opposed to illegal immigration while welcoming legal immigrants. Yet it must bear a large share of the responsibility for the fact that the American public is increasingly less able to tell the difference. The recent amnesty for large numbers of Nicaraguans and other Central Americans to convert them into legal residents is an example. In addition, the Clinton Administration has done little to stem the growing numbers of illegal aliens, and has just announced new guidelines for Immigration and Naturalization Service investigators that will hobble their efforts to protect American jobs for U.S. workers.

Current immigration is at over one million newcomers a year — when illegal immigrants are included. It is a social upheaval. It is producing major damage from the national level — where it has negative fiscal consequences — to the individual level — where job security and earnings potential for many are being undermined.

But immigration is a discretionary policy. It can be changed. It can be a gentle flow instead of a tidal wave. By turning a blind eye on the negative effects of this immigration wave — by not accepting his responsibility to manage immigration in the national interest — President Clinton is sowing the seeds for precisely the ethnic and racial divisiveness that he professes to be working to avoid.

TSC

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Is It Immigrant-Bashing to Ask About Overpopulation?

by Harold Gilliam

President Clinton's recent speech on immigration at Portland State University was an excellent policy statement, but it raises some troubling questions that are almost universally swept under the rug.

He was quite right in praising the immigrants' contributions to American society and in denouncing prejudice against people "with new accents."

Is it possible, however, to have respect and compassion for present immigrants and still raise questions about the consequences of future immigration?

Despite the ravings of some racist fanatics, immigration is not a racial problem; it is a population problem. It is projected to be a principal cause of population growth.

Is it "immigrant-bashing" or simply common foresight to ask what would be required for a doubled or tripled or quadrupled population? What about jobs, schools, parks, housing, air quality, open space, farmland and food production, transportation and infrastructure of all kinds?

We need more information about the carrying capacity of this state and the U.S. — the limits set by natural resources.

In California the most conspicuous resource in short supply is water. In drought years, this state does not have enough water available for the present population at the current rate of use.

Water conservation and recycling — both urban and agricultural — could make more water available, up to a point. But all possible belt-tightening measures could not indefinitely accommodate a continually growing population.

How much water could be imported to California — from the Columbia River, from the Yukon, from the Mississippi, and at what cost? What population could any such sources accommodate?

The ocean offers an unlimited supply, but desalting sea water and pumping it uphill would require colossal amounts of energy at a time when fossil-fuel consumption must be diminished.

Nuclear power has seemingly insuperable problems of safety and radioactive waste disposal. Solar energy on a large scale would require vast amounts of land to collect sunlight. How much of the state would be covered by the collectors and how much energy would they supply?

"Is it possible to have respect and compassion for present immigrants and still raise questions about the [environmental] consequences of future immigration?"

Questions like these must be answered not only about water but about the limits of the other natural resources that are under population pressure — fertile soil, forests, wildlife, fisheries, open space, and the services furnished by ecosystems that are vital to the economy.

Population growth is not the only source of resource depletion. Possibly half or more of our water — and other resources — is wasted by careless

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***Harold Gilliam** is the author of 13 books on the San Francisco Bay area and California environment, including* Weather of the San Francisco Bay Region *(University of California Press). This op-ed is reprinted by permission of the author from* The San Francisco Examiner, *June 26, 1998.*

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consumption.

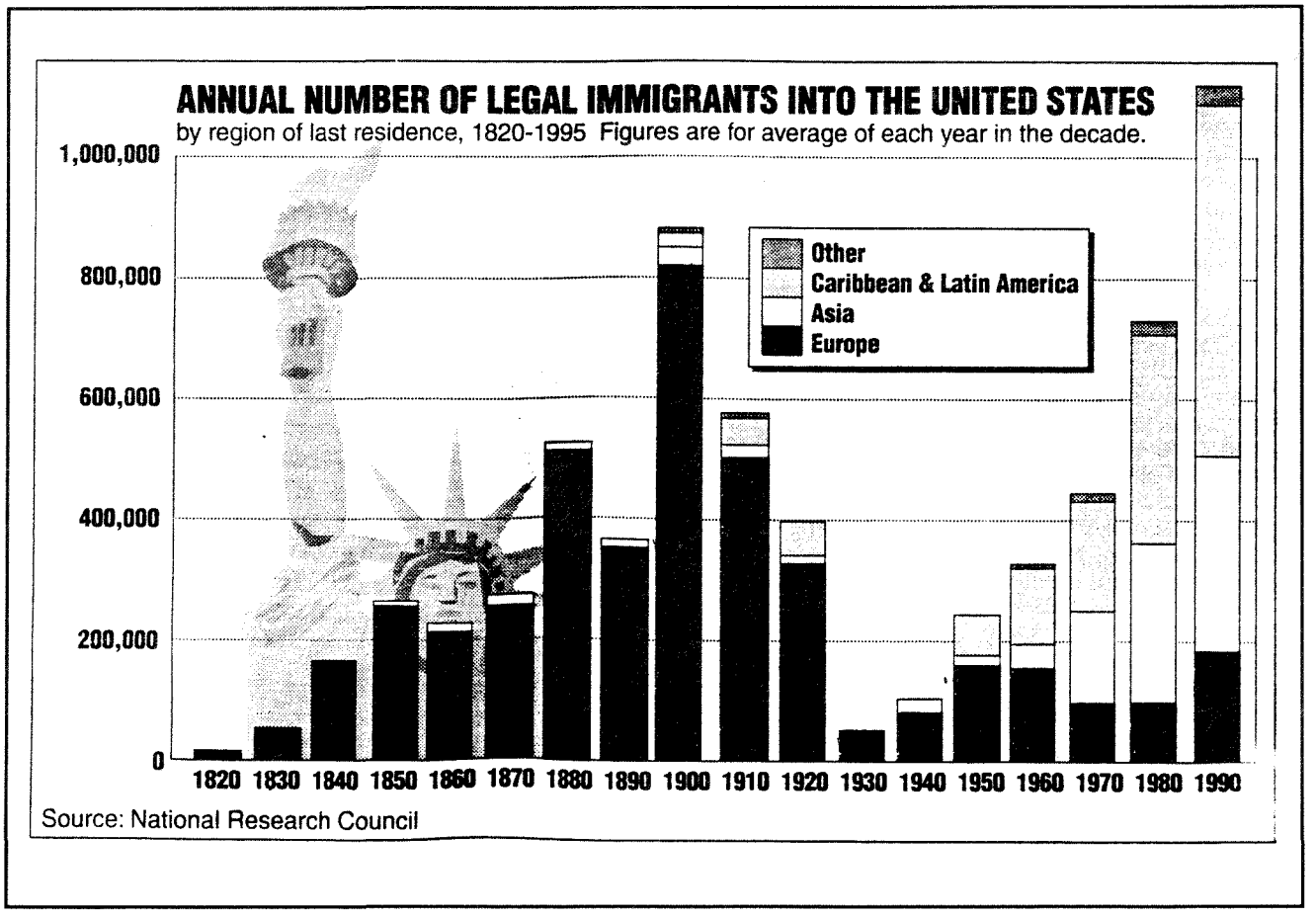
We need to learn how many people California could sustainably support if we ran a tight ship, eliminating waste while maintaining standards of living.

Population, of course, is a global problem. There is an urgent need to offer family-planning methods, education and economic aid to developing countries in sufficient amounts to help them reduce population growth and build prosperous, sustainable economies that could diminish migrations.

But that's a very long-run prospect. In the meantime, we must plan for the local impact. The population of California has increased ten times within the lifetime of this writer. Can we anticipate another tenfold increase?

We have in this state some top-drawer research universities capable of developing detailed pictures of California at various future levels of population and consumption.

Only with this kind of information can we have rational public discussion of immigration and population growth. But there will be no possibility of answers until we start asking the right questions. Let's get them out from under the rug. TSC


ANNUAL NUMBER OF LEGAL IMMIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES
by region of last residence, 1820-1995 Figures are for average of each year in the decade.
1,000,000
800,000
600,000
400,000
200,000
0
Other
Caribbean & Latin America
Asia
Europe
1820 1830 1840 1850 1860 1870 1880 1890 1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980 1990
Source: National Research Council

The National Research Council had been asked by the Immigration Reform Commission, headed by the late Barbara Jordan, to examine the demographic, economic and fiscal consequences of immigration. As this chart shows, they project that the non-Hispanic "white" population of the U.S. will shrink from 74 percent of the population in 1995 to 51 percent in 2050. The biggest factor propelling population change is immigration, now mostly from Latin America and Asia.

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Malthusian Truths About Today's World

by Georgie Ann Geyer

WARRENTON, VA

Rare is the man whose name becomes an adjective for centuries to come. Thomas Robert Malthus was such a man.

"Malthusian" has come down to us from the 18th century as describing the most terrifying possibilities that man, accustomed then to an abundant and open Earth, could imagine. Malthusianism meant that population growth, if unrestrained, would eventually destroy man's subsistence here on Earth. Population was destiny.

In recent years, despite the early fascination with his "An Essay on the Principle of Population," Malthus has lost ground among the skeptical classes. His predictions have not come true, deriders say. Despite mankind's well-documented carelessness in regulating its procreation, widespread poverty has *not* yet scourged the earth or doomed us to extinction.

Yet, now, because of developments in the last 40 years, we must come up with a strong "Yes, but ..." — for recent conflicts in the world tell us that Malthus' views are indeed all too alive and well. Malthus' famous essay was printed exactly 200 years ago this year, in 1798, and he died in England in 1834, but as the great poet Pablo Neruda once put it, "Everything that is buried is not dead."

Georgie Ann Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.
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The Social Contract observed the bicentennial of the publication of Thomas Robert Malthus' "Essay on the Principle of Population" in our Spring 1998 issue. These two op-ed pieces by Georgie Ann Geyer and Charlie Reese are further explorations of the ramifications of that essay.

At one of a score of recent conferences being held on this Malthus anniversary, writer Robert D. Kaplan, the guru on disintegration in the world, discussed the conflicts he had sought out and seen firsthand for many years. He has come up with a new and still more terrifying play on the Malthusian fear, one that involves conflict rather than food.

"Malthus may have been wrong on specifics, but in general principle he was right," Kaplan told a small group brought together by the Biocentric Institute at Airlie House here. "All the countries with violent upheavals in the 1980s and '90s were the ones that showed the highest growth rate in the '60s! Every country where bloody internecine civil wars have occurred in recent years had a huge population preceding the conflict."

Could he be right? I went to UN population data. Rwanda, from 2.1 million in 1950 to 8 million today; Haiti, from 3.3 million then to 7.5 million today; Algeria, from 8.8 million to 30.2 million; Afghanistan, 9 million to 24.8 million; Zaire or Congo, 12.2 to 49 million; Nicaragua, 1.1 million to 4.8 million; Tajikistan, 1.5 million to 6.1 million; El Salvador, 2 million to 5.8 million; Ethiopia, 18.4 million to 58.4 million today. I was flabber-gasted.

"You must understand," Kaplan went on, "that in these conflicts the underlying causes come first and the beginning comes last. Take the civil war in Algeria. It all started with the '92 elections (when the military rescinded them because the Islamic fundamentalists were winning). But actually that 'beginning' was the end of a long culmination of events in the '60s when Algeria began to show one of the highest population growth rates in the world. That

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brought hordes of children into the cities where infrastructures were collapsing, and soon unemployed young men were roaming around with nothing to do.

"1992 was merely the spark."

In short, to cite two other examples, it is no accident that before the Rwandan genocide of 1995-96, Rwandan women were giving birth an average of eight times. It is also no accident that, in Haiti during these last years of implosion and civil war, Haitian women were giving birth an average of six times. These high population rates do not actually cause the slaughters, of course, but they exacerbate all the other problems and remove the possibilities of easier or quicker solutions. They also throw people too closely together and swiftly involve them in a fight for food and water and make genocide an acceptable alternative.

In my own 34 years in the foreign field, I have seen how the sheer crowdedness of increasingly dingy and untenable urban centers (33 million in the valley of Mexico City alone now, and it's getting harder and harder even to breathe, much less move) causes frustration and then conflict on every possible level. I find myself writing more and more about the environmental scarcity that is upon us everywhere — the sobering disappearance of water in China, for instance.

And meanwhile, we continue to have to live on this Earth, which had 1.6 billion people at the beginning of the 20th century and will have 6 billion by the dawn of the 21st.

Being an optimistic sort, I also write about the countries that are making it because they are smart and disciplined, and because they care about the quality and evolution of life. One of these is little Tunisia on the north coast of Africa which in those same '60s, when all these other countries were confounding their fates with overpopulation, introduced birth control. That is one major reason given by Tunisians for a thriving populace, which is bettering itself today.

Kaplan has the last word in trying to answer the critics of Malthus. "A man can only write at the time in which he is living, and Malthus was very daring for his time," he said. "In an indirect, subtle sense, Malthus was right." TSC

There's No Getting Past Nature's Limits

by Charley Reese

This is the 200th anniversary of the publication of Thomas Robert Malthus' *Essay on the Principle of Population.* Perhaps no writer in history has ever had more people with a vested interest in proving him wrong, though, in fact, Malthus was right.

Malthus' basic hypothesis that the number of people this planet can feed is limited while population increase is not is correct. Because he was operating with the knowledge available to him in 1798, his timing was off. Both the development of North and South American continents plus later technological and scientific advances pushed the crisis further into the future than he anticipated.

But, while there are about 6 billion people today, 2 billion of them live in the dire misery Malthus predicted. And for most of that 2 billion, their only hope is somehow to find their way to the industrially developed countries. Those folks are coming to dinner. Better not put all the farmers out of business.

What several categories of people most vehemently object to in Malthus is the idea that the human being, like the squirrel and the deer, is subject to the iron laws of nature.

Charley Reese is a columnist with the Orlando [FL] Sentinel. *This column is reprinted with the permission of King Features Syndicate.*

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Capitalists love the idea of perpetual growth and are loath to admit that there are any natural limits that might curb their greed for profits.

The social determinists hate the very idea that biology imposes any limits on human beings. Their whole racket depends on the false hypothesis that humans are equal and that only social environment creates inequality. That, of course, is stuff and nonsense. The determinists include a whole gaggle of people from socialists to nonideological, redistributionist fans to the folks who just have a cash interest in the huge welfare industry, both public and private. Their jobs depend on the fantasy that humans are infinitely malleable people who can be resurrected from bum to sterling citizen with the right social program. That's rubbish, of course.

Finally, there are the superstitious. Because nature programs people to believe in mystery, when people chuck belief in God as too restrictive, they inevitably end up with blind faith in some ideology or in science and technology.

Oh, no matter what, they believe blindly, science and technology, like the cavalry in the Hollywood movies, will always ride to the rescue. That, too, is rubbish. You might ask the survivors of Hiroshima or all the dying cancer patients what they think of science and technology.

There are no more continents to develop. The oceans, once thought to hold limitless resources, are increasingly polluted and overexploited. People in the seafood business told me 15 years ago that seafood was going to become scarce and expensive, and they were exactly right. It has become both.

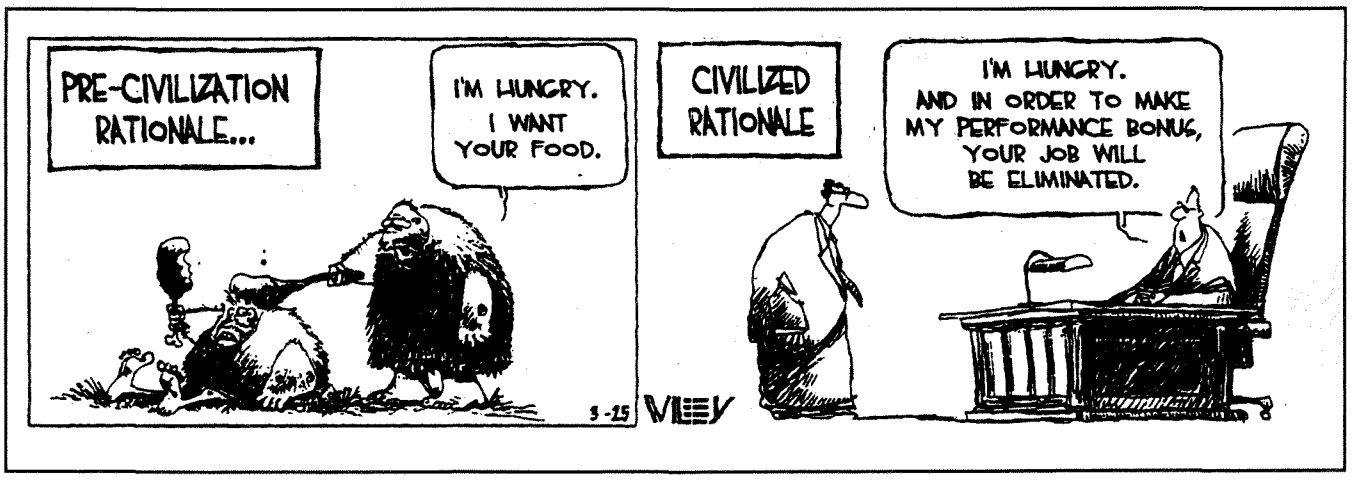
As for the foolish notion that there's always space, the nearest star around which there may nor may not be any habitable planets is 24 *trillion* miles away. Forget it. No way are humans going to devise a machine that could achieve the velocity necessary to travel beyond our solar system. Earth is our birthplace and our graveyard.

We'd better not screw it up to the point that it becomes uninhabitable, but we're moving in that direction.

We have to change our thinking. We have to drop this one-dimensional, special-interest style of thinking that amounts really to advocacy of a narrow point of view and *ad hominem* attacks on everyone who disagrees.

Somehow, without tearing each others' throats out, we have to find a way to live within the limits imposed by nature.

And it pays to remember that nature is merciless. TSC


PRE-CIVILIZATION RATIONALE...
I'M HUNGRY. I WANT YOUR FOOD.
CIVILIZED RATIONALE
I'M HUNGRY. AND IN ORDER TO MAKE MY PERFORMANCE BONUS, YOUR JOB WILL BE ELIMINATED.
9-15
WILEY

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High-tech Foreign Workers Could Hurt U.S. Security

by Richard Estrada

[*Editor's note: As this issue of The Social Contract goes to press the President has threatened to veto H1-B as it is formulated, and the House Republican leadership is attempting to strike a compromise that responds to the demands from Silicon Valley.*]

DALLAS, TEXAS

It may still come to be known popularly as the High-Tech Trojan Horse Act of 1998. The Senate's recent decision to hike by 30,000 the number of six-year visas for specialized workers from abroad over the next four months may actually be another ticking immigration time bomb left on the nation's doorstep by Congress.

And hope that the House would heed concerns that more foreign workers in certain skilled and professional fields would displace U.S. workers began to evaporate after the House immigration subcommittee approved a companion measure expanding the "H1-B" immigration program. In raising the cap on these particular newcomers from 65,000 to 95,000, immigration subcommittees led by Sen. Spencer Abraham (R-Mich) and Rep. Lamar Smith (R-Texas), have cast aside mounting evidence that alleged high-tech worker shortages are spurious.

As powerful as the story of the betrayal of the American high-tech worker is, it may yet be upstaged by the possible betrayal of the American nation. Ironically, the special-interest bill so vigorously sought by high-tewch magnates such as Bill Gates of Microsoft is doing precisely what Republicans on Capitol Hill are saying President did in his China policy: elevating business interests over national security.

Alarmed at late-breaking news reports that India's nuclear program might benefit from Indian workers who gain sensitive information and know-how while employed in U.S. high-tech industries, Abraham quickly moved to defuse the issue. An Abraham spokesman says the legislation would require the attorney general to deny any petition for H1-B workers "for any employer that has knowledge or reasonable cause to know that the employee is providing material assistance for the development of nuclear weapons in India or any other country." Critics recently raised questions in this regard about the Tata Group, which allegedly has links to the Indian government and that country's nuclear program. Tata, which provides U.S. employers with Indian workers, denies any wrongdoing.

The new twist in the debate emphasizes the pitfalls of accepting false arguments based on erroneous information. In recent months, the most reliable reviews of high-tech labor shortage claims made by information technology lobbyists have concluded that no shortage exists. The General Accounting Office strongly criticized the methodology employed by the Information Technology Association of America, just as it debunked Department of Commerce claims based on that study.

As usual, there is a kicker to the story. It is unfolding at a time when high-tech firms in the Silicon Valley are *laying off* workers, software firms nationwide are hiring no more than 20 percent of applicants, and many employers are openly contemptuous of retraining previously laid-off American workers.

Last week the annual cap of 65,000 visas for specialized workers was attained for the first time since 1990. Yet, primed to do the bidding of powerful special-interest groups, the politicians on Capitol Hill forget that the reason caps were imposed in the first place was to oblige employers to live within limits and begin doing more for

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***Richard Estrada** is a columnist with the* Dallas Morning News.
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the education, training and retraining of U.S. workers.

According to labor economist Vernon M. Briggs, Jr. of Cornell University, legislators and employers see imported workers as units of production. Because of that perspective, they assume the workers in question will act in a prescribed manner. They don't foresee that some will want to stay permanently, just as they fail to see that some of those who return home may use their skills in ways inimical to U.S. national security. "They forget that the foreign workers are people," says Briggs.

What a curious turnabout. Because even as academics such as Briggs point out how the importation of foreign labor works in practice, supposedly practical-minded politicians on Capitol Hill are preferring to emphasize how the immigration system works in theory. TSC

On My Way Out of California

From the Internet: a job-seeker's true experience

Author's name withheld*

Since my layoff (42 of us were cut in one day) on July 1, I, of course, have been searching for new work. The well-publicized downturn in the semiconductor industry finally took its toll on the company. Yesterday's interview at a Milpitas chip company had quite an effect on me. *All* the engineers there are foreigners from East Asia. I believe the interview I had (for an engineering position) was an exercise in futility, an act of going through the motions.

One of the interviewers asked me how I would feel about being isolated culturally at the company. "Many of us speak Chinese to each other. We're all from the Orient." I said something PC. The company is small and having some difficulties, so I wouldn't be interested in working for them anyway. I think the interview was just for the purpose of using me as proof that they 'searched' for an American while really wanting to hire a Chinese H-1B worker.

The three Chinese interviewers were nice and intelligent people, but very foreign, and the interviews were rather uncomfortable and awkward. We neither connected well nor had much in common. I answered their technical questions well. During my days, I've been spending many hours in the library, preparing for these interviews. This all boils down to culture and nationality, not technical matters. I wish our congressmen could understand that.

A similar situation happened at a Fremont chip company where 3 of the 4 interviewers were Indian. The one Caucasian fellow asked me how I would feel working in an all-Asian environment. I discussed this with my father, and he feels those were inappropriate questions for an interview, akin to outright discrimination against me. And the recent interview with a Sunnyvale chip company was similar: an all foreign-born Asian company, with all the interviewers being Asian. I had a thorough tour of the company so I know this. One of the interviewers was almost incomprehensible with his thick accent and poor English. I was thinking "Why do I have to put up with this in my own country? Why is *he* the one with the power over *me*?"

As of now, I'm in a state of shock over the situation. It really hit me after Friday's interview. I drove home in a trance, my mouth dry and open. The radio was on, but I didn't hear anything. After driving into my driveway in Fremont, I didn't exit the car for five minutes. I just sat there, stunned.

** The experiences reviewed here are factual but the names of companies at which he interviewed could not be used.*

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The reality set in that I will have to leave California. The situation here is beyond my tolerance level. I cannot work in an all-foreign environment, where I have no commonalities, where every attempt at communication with co-workers is strained and difficult. I'm not just a worker, I'm a human being who needs to socialize. As soon as I opened my front door, I got on the phone with one of my high-tech recruiters. I told her, "Help me to get out of this place as soon as possible."

It's too bad, because I really love the state of California. While growing up in the Midwest and attending college in the South, I dreamed of coming here. Now I realize it's not part of the United States anymore and I'm being pushed out.

Of course, I'm just one person in the large stream of American engineers who have left or are planning to leave. A co-worker (an applications engineer) at my last company is planning on transferring to the company branch in Austin, Texas. His sole reason, which he made clear to everyone in our department, was to work in a locale "that didn't have so many immigrants." He'll be a loss to the Silicon Valley site because of his excellent technical abilities.

He told me privately how his patience was wearing thin trying to deal with Asian engineers at the chip companies he serviced. The attitudes of some of the Asians, mainly the Chinese, really got on his nerves. Apparently they're often pushy and rude, and treat Americans like foreigners in our own country. I don't blame the guy. In the long run, peace of mind and sanity are most important.

Silicon Valley is beyond hope. *Every* company is completely inundated with foreigners. If 75 percent of all engineers around here aren't foreign, then I don't have blonde hair and blue eyes. The magnitude of the takeover is breathtaking. Americans don't fit into their own companies. And it's all due to our incompetent, ignorant and traitorous legislators. Well, some of them understand the situation, but most just rely on sound bites:

"Of course, I'm just one person in the large stream of American engineers who have left or are planning to leave."

"More high-tech workers = a better America."

"Asians are good people, and by importing their extended families we promote family values in America"

"American companies should reflect the cultures of the markets they serve"

If the H-1B numbers do rise to 115,000 per year, that would be the final nail in the coffin for Americans living here.

What's amazing is that we Americans invented Silicon Valley. We invented and developed the technology we use in our daily lives. Silicon Valley and companies like Intel, Motorola, IBM, etc. would not exist if it weren't for us. The U.S. does not owe everyone in the world a job and a house in California. But because of industry demands for cheap labor, and a special-interest-driven national government, an explosion has occurred. Since the mid-1980s, the Valley has been transformed from a cohesive, productive, American place to work, into a nightmarish scene of foreign takeover. These foreigners are not better than us, they just have more numbers, and we have suicidal immigration laws.

Anyway, the interview in Milpitas was the last straw. I'm now working furiously to find opportunities in other states. But something's got to happen quickly, because I'm running low on money and my health insurance expires August 31. If the Fremont company offers me a job, I may have to take it and tough it out for a few more years here.

That idea I had for a "Euro-American" or "American Citizens'" high-tech employment group got deep-sixed within my mind yesterday. It's too late for something like that to be effective. That's because foreign-born Asians are the gatekeepers of the Valley. They're the ones who call the shots on who gets hired/fired. And they hire their own people; that's why the companies are all-Asian. There would need to be a large number of Americans in high-tech positions to facilitate the hiring of more Americans — a situation that does not exist. TSC

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From the Russian Mailbag

Letters from the curious about U.S. immigration policy

by Don Barnett

Many if not all foreign-language newspapers published in the United States carry a "Dear Abbey-like" column advising readers about immigration and welfare. *Novoe Russkoe Slovo,* the leading Russian-language newspaper, is a good example of this. With a readership of about 1 million worldwide it is in the same league as the leading English-language newspapers.

Imagine the *Los Angeles Times* carrying a column exhorting readers to become citizens by proclaiming:

> *[America] has provided pensions and free medical care to elderly individuals who have not worked a day in the U.S.; many live in practically free housing. It's a great honor to become a citizen of such a great and humane country. And now every legal immigrant living here 5 years or more (3 years for spouses of U.S. citizens) can become a citizen even if a disability prevents him from learning English.*

This is a direct translation from Russian of one of many advice columns offered by immigration lawyers and organizations sponsoring immigrants and refugees. They field such questions as that of the hopeful Red Army veteran from Brooklyn who asked about applying for U.S. veterans' benefits ("after all we fought together against the same enemy").

Then there was the reader from St. Petersburg, Russia, who suggested the solution to the housing shortage in her city was to resettle more individuals from public housing in Russia to public housing in America.

The advice columns serve as advertisements for lawyers promising to get results in obtaining public assistance and winning appeals for refugee status or asylum. A recent column discussed the appeal of a Christian evangelical whose bid for refugee status was denied because she could not identify basic tenets of the religion she claimed to be part of. She won her appeal after the lawyer-columnist brought in a psychologist to testify that anxiety about the interview interfered with her ability to recite facts well known to her. What's interesting here is that no attempt was made to show persecution: it was enough to simply suggest that the individual *could* be a member of the rather vaguely defined Christian evangelical community.

Below are translated excerpts of typical questions and answers taken from *Novoe Russkoe Slovo* columns which ran in issues published in March and April of 1998.

Ask the Experts

D.T. from Pittsburgh asks, "Can you explain in detail who is eligible for a partial or full waiver of the citizenship exam?"

The advisor explains residency and age requirements allowing one to take the exam with a translator or to take a special simplified exam in one's native language. The 25 questions of the simplified exam are listed. (Where's the capital of the U.S.? Who is the U.S. president? Etc.) Paradoxically, the longer the residency the lower the requirements for elderly applicants. For individuals able to show physical or mental disability the citizenship test is waived altogether. A free packet of information is offered to those who wish to prove disability.

Asset Hiding Goes Global

A.D. from Baltimore writes: "I arrived as a refugee from St. Petersburg in 1993. I am 66 years old and since 1991 have been eligible for my pension from Russia. In 1994 I began receiving disability SSI. I recently learned I have a right to my

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***Don Barnett** lived and worked in the former Soviet Union for two years and has written extensively on immigration issues.*

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Russian pension [in U.S. dollars] which has been accumulating since 1993. Can I receive money from Russia and still keep my U.S. benefits?"

"Tough" new commitment required of non-refugees... still worth the wait

M.I. from Massachusetts writes: "I arrived in the U.S. as a refugee in 1996. I am working. I want to marry a man from Byellorussia. He has bronchial asthma which he got from his job. How and when should we get married? ...Most important, if we got married and he came to America will he get free medical coverage?"

N.C. from New York writes: "My sister and her husband, both age 65, received *parole* status. What benefits can they count on when they arrive?"

The advisor writes that as of recent changes Medicaid will probably be available to *parolees*, but not SSI (the federal cash assistance program for the elderly or disabled). He warns, "Persons arriving as *parolees*, regardless of age, should be prepared to live here for 5 years without free social programs."

An ethical dilemma easily resolved

B.K. of New York writes: "In January 1997 I was hospitalized for three days. I was visited by a doctor 4 times for a total of 15 minutes. From that time I have been getting bills for fantastic amounts. According to them I owe more than $126,000. I have not paid a cent as I have nothing to pay with. Lately the bills have come with stronger and stronger warnings and now they are threatening a lawsuit. What should I do?"

The advisor answers: "The hospital will, naturally, try to get its money from you, but if you have nothing with which to pay they will eventually have to leave you alone."

Good mechanics wanted

P.S. writes that she wants to be reunited with her 41-year-old son who lives in Ukraine. She wonders if he can receive a work visa as a tractor driver.

The advisor answers: "Obtaining a work visa is realistic, but not as a tractor driver — perhaps as a specialist with an in-depth knowledge of automobiles. You will need a sponsor which you can only find by going out and looking — that is, try to find a business willing to act as a sponsor for your son."

What happened to five-year deeming for non-refugees?

"My husband and I arrived as legal immigrants in 1995. We do not have refugee status. In 1996, when we turned 65 years of age, we began getting SSI/Medicaid. In April of 1997 my husband found work and so we can no longer get public support." She goes on to ask if they can resume SSI if her husband loses his job.

This couple started receiving SSI/Medicaid a year after arrival even though, as non-refugees, their relative/sponsor's income should have been "deemed" available to them. The advisor assures them not to worry because in the worst case they can become citizens in the year 2000 and the problem will go away.

Next time ask the experts, not the INS (or: ignorance is bliss)

Poor Rep. Pombo (R-CA); had he taken his questions to the experts in the pages of *Novoe Russkoe Slovo* he would have gotten accurate

Even *Pravda* frets about language policy in the Western Hemisphere

(Translated from *Kommsomolskaya Pravda* by Don Barnett)

"In Mexico you can be fired for saying 'goodbye'" by Evgenii Umerenko

Mexicans are a strange people. They refuse to speak any language other than Spanish. They share a common border with America and over 100 billion dollars of annual trade, but you will never see the word "shop," "market" or "parking" in Mexico. Even brokers, dealers, and, strangest of all, promoters are called by their Spanish names.

Mexican federal law mandates that radio and TV shows use the national language. Only in special situations and with the express permission of the Interior Ministry can a foreign language be used during a broadcast. And then only when accompanied by a Spanish translation.

The same law prohibits profaning national heroes, inciting racial hostility and broadcasting programs which "harm the national language." "Harming the national language" includes usage of non-standard lexicon and foreign words when not absolutely necessary. Now, even saying "goodbye" on radio or television is forbidden by law....

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information and useful advice. Instead, he directed his queries about immigration to, of all places, the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

A constituent of Rep. Colombo's had noticed that the public housing in his hometown of Rancho Cordova, California was filling up with former Soviets and asked the Congressman about the U.S. refugee program. Rep, Pombo promptly sent a letter to the INS asking about the program and got back an answer from the acting Director of Congressional Relations who writes:

> *When refugees are admitted to this country there is a resettlement fund which is issued per individual by our government, through the offices of refugee resettlement, a part of the Department of Health and Human Services. The amount that is issued ranges from $5,000 to $7,000 that may be obtained by the refugee within the first 18 months of their entry. Once the refugee has received this assistance and permanent residence has been acquired, they must work to sustain themselves as any other person in this country. Our government does not grant special treatment to any specific group of immigrants.*

Is it possible that the INS Director of Congressional Relations thinks that each refugee uses $5,000 to $7,000 in services and that no special treatment is afforded them? Is it true that summing the annual budget of the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) with those parts of the INS and State Department budget dedicated to refugee resettlement and then dividing that sum by the number of refugee arrivals for a given year yields a result of approximately $7,000 per refugee? This mythical $7,000 figure floats around in the media and in Congressional testimony, but it is surprising to see the INS promoting it, especially implying that it is a fixed cash amount that is doled out over the first year and a half of residency.

Absent from this number is the cost of welfare dependency beyond the first months. (An ORR official told me that $7,000 is not even one tenth of the true average per refugee cost.) According to an ORR study over half of those refugees who arrived in a recent 5-year period are dependent on cash assistance, two-thirds receive food stamps, etc. Elderly usage of welfare/Medicaid runs nearly 100 percent and is a lifetime entitlement, unlike some welfare programs which are subject to time limits.

All of this is made possible because our government does indeed grant "special treatment" to specific groups of immigrants. Unlike other immigrants, refugees receive interest-free and apparently uncollectible loans for airfare and are allowed access, upon arrival, to all welfare programs on the same basis as citizens.

Perhaps the sociologists and organization theorists will give us a name for the state of affairs that exists when the people using a system know so much more about it than the people who are running it. TSC

Do Declinists Have a Point?

by Patrick Buchanan

Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
is one with Nineveh and Tyre.

So wrote Rudyard Kipling in "Recessional," his 1897 poem penned at the peak of the British Empire for the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria.

Two decades later, in 1918, a fateful year for Germany, the great historical pessimist Oswald Spengler produced *The Decline of the West.* On the eve of Hitler's accession to power in 1932, Spengler wrote, "Optimism is cowardice."

About the continent that had been the cockpit of history for centuries, these "declinists" were right. The era of Britain and Europe was about to end and the American century about to begin.

Britain, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Spain and Portugal had empires in 1897. Now, they are virtually disarmed,

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defended by Americans, unable even to police the Balkans. Though rich, they are no longer great, and with each decade their numbers decline. "This is the way the world ends," wrote the poet T.S. Eliot, "not with a bang but a whimper."

What brings this to mind is a review in which this writer was related to a new declinist school. And with America the last superpower and our economy the marvel of the age, this is rankest heresy, even in a conservative household where pessimism always had a room. Yet, as the millennium approaches, there is evidence to contradict the current mood of American triumphalism. Consider:

While the United States dominates air, sea and space, the U.S. defense budget has fallen to the smallest share of gross domestic product since the 1930s, just must than three percent. Our strife-ridden armed forces are down to pre-Pearl Harbor strength.

What was the greatest creditor nation in history, running trade surpluses yearly from 1900 to 1970, has run trade deficits almost every year since. We are now the world's great debtor.

Once we borrowed to build. Now we borrow to consume.

Our history is being reverse engineered. It took a century to achieve American autonomy. But dependence on foreign markets and our vulnerability to foreign financial crises is now as great as in Colonial days. The awesome industrial plant that won World War II is being sold off, broken up and carted away as the United States runs annual merchandise trade deficits that could hit $300 billion by 2000.

History teaches that when a nation shifts from production and manufacturing to a reliance on trade and finance, it is in decline. But perhaps we are, as the optimists reassure us, at the end of history.

U.S. foreign policy was once made by statesmen acting on what was best for America. It now appears to be a stapling together of the agendas of ethnic minorities. The Israeli lobby dictates Mideast policy. The Greek lobby blocks closer ties to Turkey. Cuba policy must pass a veto by Cuban-Americans. Americans of East European descent demand war guarantees for old homelands and get them. Our policy toward Azerbaijan is set by Armenian-Americans. We pledge American blood and hand out foreign aid to mollify voting blocs. Who speaks today for the national interest?

"U.S. foreign policy ... now appears to be a stapling together of the agendas of ethnic minorities."

In our capital city a hiring hall has been established for the ex-senators, congressmen and cabinet officers who sign on and get rich doing the bidding of their new foreign masters.

Immigrants from Latin America and Asia demand we maintain open borders, and both parties, fearful of being branded nativist, go along — although 75 to 80 percent of Americans beg for a moratorium.

Mexico City urges Mexican-Americans to vote its interests in U.S. elections. A Mexican consul says we should stop playing our national anthem at U.S.-Mexico soccer games if we wish to stop the kind of outrages visited on our flag and team last February in the L.A. Coliseum. Not a peep of protest comes from U.S. officialdom.

American culture dominates, but even liberals are revolted at the crudity of our films and TV sitcoms and at a media where Jerry Springer tops the charts and Howard Stern reaches for radio gold.

In a quarter-century, 37 million unborn have been done to death, homosexuality has become a valid lifestyle, and drugs and sex are routine in junior high. From Rome to Weimar, these were signs of a dying civilization. But in America, none dare call it decadence.

Panem et circenses, bread and circuses, marked the end of Rome. Our version is the Clinton scandals. We cannot get enough of them. Public affairs shows have been given up to endless babble about Monica and Bill — and been rewarded with record ratings.

This nation has enormous reserves of strength and vitality, but we are also exhibiting unmistakable symptoms of national cancer. TSC

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Graft in Latin America

Corruption threatens nascent democracies

by Bart Jones

CARACAS, VENEZUELA

During a strip-search of a Venezuelan judge suspected of taking a bribe, police find the money stuffed in her panties.

In Mexico, the head of a state anti-kidnapping squad is arrested for running a kidnapping ring himself. The brother of the country's former president reportedly amasses $100 million while holding a $39,000-a-year government job. His "com-missions" earn him the nickname of "Mr. Ten Percent."

A decade after the region's last dictatorships fell everywhere except Cuba, corruption has become one of the main threats to democracy in Latin America. It undermines the credibility of public officials, thwarts economic development, scares off foreign investors and diverts badly needed funds from schools, hospitals and highways.

Latin American countries consistently show up as among the world's most corrupt, says Transparency International, a private Berlin-based group that studies corruption worldwide. In last year's survey of 52 nations, five of the 11 worst were in Latin America: Venezuela, Argentina, Mexico, Colombia and Bolivia.

***Bart Jones** is an international reporter for the Associated Press.*

For decades, corruption was tacitly accepted in Latin America. Military regimes gave citizens little leeway to address the problem. But now that democracy has swept the region, the press is freer to root out illegal practices and voters are holding officials more accountable.

Angry citizens in Venezuela, Ecuador and Brazil have helped oust unpopular presidents accused of corruption. Raul Salinas de Gortari, the brother of former Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, is under arrest for reportedly amassing a fortune through graft.

Still, those high-profile cases are exceptions.

In Venezuela, many people think someone who passes up the chance to steal is a "fool," said Gustavo Coronel, head of Quality of Life, a private group that conducts anti-corruption workshops.

Venezuelan police say they discovered about $900 of bribe money in the panties of the judge who minutes earlier had demanded a payoff from the lawyer handling a real estate dispute.

Payoffs help Venezuelans cut through mind-boggling bureaucracy to obtain driver's licenses, passports, telephone hookups, business permits, even operations at crowded hospitals.

Free-market economic reforms implemented across the region as democracy took hold were supposed to reduce corruption by making business and government more open.

But the selloff of state airlines, banks, steel mills, telephone companies and other businesses was itself mired in corruption, says Eduardo Gamarra, director of the Latin America-Caribbean Studies Program at Florida International University.

Venezuelan corruption spiraled out of control during oil booms in the 1970s and early '80s when tens of billion of dollars flowed into the oil-rich country. Politicians, government workers and businessmen all grabbed their shares.

Former President Jaime Lusinchi once commented on national television that "only fools pay taxes." By official estimate, 60 percent of workers, executives and businesses are tax evaders.

At least on paper, Latin American governments are taking the problem seriously.

President Ernesto Zedillo of Mexico recently announced that fighting corruption will be a top priority.

Ecuadorean President Fabian Alarcon is investigating allegations of graft by his ousted predecessor, Abdala Bucaram — but Mr. Alarcon's administration is itself accused of wrong-doing, including the reported theft of international donations meant for El Nino flood victims.

TSC

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Looking Like America

A whole new 'industry' makes it possible

Book Review by Kevin Lamb

When the Eisenhower administration proposed landmark civil rights legislation in the late 1950s, critics regarded it as an unconstitutional infringement upon states' rights. The leading opponent in the US Senate, the late Richard B. Russell (D-GA), argued that by transferring unprecedented authority to the US Attorney General, the federal government could integrate the south at bayonet point against the collective will of local communities. By dwelling on legal and political matters, these adversaries underestimated the cultural changes that the civil rights movement would eventually spawn in American society.

The social transformation of American society forty years after the dawn of the civil rights movement goes well beyond the statutory enforcement of anti-discrimination laws. Egalitarian social reform has drifted surreptitiously from the color-blind goals of the civil rights movement to group-based representation in the form of affirmative action and multiculturalism. Typically, "glass ceiling" catch phrases about "overcoming discrimination in the workplace" often refer to inadequate ratios of proportional representation as much as individual acts of discrimination. From academe to federal contractors, numerous measures that encompass shifting work standards like hiring and promotional criteria are intended to offset "adverse impact" — the statistical under-representation of minority groups. Next to private organizations, one of the last hurdles to overcome in this demographic and social metamorphosis is the conversion of the corporate culture.

Frederick Lynch's recent book *The Diversity Machine* documents with impressive detail the organized effort now underway to follow President Clinton's lead in selecting a cabinet that "looks like America." An entire industry of "diversity" consultants are committed to altering the corporate culture from the top down, unlike the advocates of affirmative action that targeted the applicant pool of entry level jobs. Given modern demographic changes, these social reformers argue that current business practices should reflect a more diverse consumer base. Accordingly, the monochromatic business era of the 1950s — a corporate culture dominated by "white males" and "gray-flannel suits" remains out of sync with the consumer interests of an increasingly diverse population.

The Diversity Machine: The Drive to Change the White Male Workplace
By Frederick R. Lynch
New York: The Free Press
432 pages, $25.00

In a meticulous review of the "diversity industry" literature, Lynch confronts a number of similar arguments by probing the underlying rationale that management diversity is a corporate need. If a diverse management is indispensable for maintaining Total Quality Management (TQM), why is there only token reference to it in the TQM literature? Is cultural and ethnic diversity essential for corporate success? Despite the recent economic slump of many Asian economies, why are relatively homogeneous nations (culturally and ethnically) in the Far East so successful in penetrating highly diverse economic markets? Why is the modern corporate culture an impediment to future success in various market endeavors? Moreover, why is *greater* management diversity imperative for meeting future economic challenges?

Lynch effectively cuts through the fog of "diversity" rhetoric and skewers the fallacies of this multicultural trend. In general, the diversity industry itself represents a new class of shakedown artists. By turning an existing *condition* into a *problem*, then exaggerating the need to resolve it, the "diversity machine" grinds out prefabricated solutions for a

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price: "hired" consultants, expensive videos (30 minute tapes for $99), a cottage publishing industry, seminars and web sites. As a result, major corporations and the federal government maintain separate units that serve as an internal cadre for "diversity affairs." Lynch points out that while the field of diversity consultants took off during the early 1990s, the industry may well have peaked by mid-decade.

Diversity consultant R. Roosevelt Thomas, Jr., executive director of the American Institute for Managing Diversity, Inc., argues that American corporations need to adapt to the available pool of diverse talent in "scrambling" to compete in foreign and domestic labor markets. In order to meet the business challenges of the 21st century, corporate managers should reflect a cultural and ethnic rainbow of skilled personnel. If this is indeed true, why do foreign corporations like Nissan, Toyota, Honda and BMW, when building new automotive plants in the US, select relatively small and homogeneous communities in Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee and South Carolina instead of the multi-ethnic Mecca of metropolitan municipalities? Why wouldn't major aerospace and computer firms, like Boeing and Microsoft in Washington state, and Gateway2000 in South Dakota, relocate from some of the least diverse areas to more heterogeneous regions? While other factors may determine corporate location, it suggests that the *need* for "diversity" in acquiring quality management is minimal at best.

"Lynch points out that while the field of diversity consultants took off during the 1990s, the industry may well have peaked by mid-decade."

One of the arguments for justifying a top-down multi-ethnic management is that it would merely broaden existing corporate standards of excellence. A variation of this argument is that successful traits and characteristics like: adaptability, conscientiousness, dependability, efficient, goal-oriented, punctual, innovative, and industrious reflect the austerity of a "white male dominated" business culture. (IBM once demanded that its employees wear white-collar shirts, refrain from alcohol and maintain a clean-shaven appearance.) Yet as Lynch points out, many of these common business standards are universal. Asian corporations value these traits as much as European and North American firms.

Advocates of affirmative action typically defend preferential treatment by arguing that qualified candidates merely deserve what they have been denied: equal opportunity. Even though such measures take race and gender into account to compensate for past discrimination, the underlying argument for affirmative action recognizes current standards that determine employment qualifications. In theory, eliminating discriminatory practices would make qualified minority applicants *equally capable* of meeting current hiring and selection criteria. This perspective at least recognizes the importance of adhering to employment standards in selecting qualified job applicants.

Diversity proponents claim that these fossilized principles of the modern corporate culture should *adapt* to a "diverse spectrum" of "talent, ability and skill level." Perhaps as a result of the negative connotations tied to affirmative action, diversity consultants seek to revamp the stoic culture of the business community instead of merely changing unfair hiring practices. The irony, as Lynch points out, is that the argument for corporate adaptation rests on the premise that people *actually are different* and that corporations must conform to this reality. As diversity consultant Sondra Thiederman exclaims, "just because we are equal doesn't mean we're the same." Hence, the paradox of diversity is that "inclusion" rests upon the assimilation of human differences. Yet, if all the applicants for a managerial position in a firm are *equally capable*, then what imperatives are there for diversification?

The technical literature on personnel selection indicates that the focus on modifying corporate standards in order to conform to this "diverse talent spectrum" is a rhetorical shell game. By establishing requirements and fulfilling performance objectives, employees (labor and management alike) are routinely expected to perform various assignments. Yet highly regarded methods for employment selection and job qualifications are routinely

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criticized by diversity consultants. Measures that contribute to "adverse impact" for minority groups, yet spur business efficiency — like IQ and aptitude tests — have been attacked in the courts as discriminatory. In *Griggs v Duke Power Co.*, the US Supreme Court essentially banned the general application of employment tests and the requirement of a high school diploma as general selection criteria. However, as three leading industrial psychologists point out, recent studies confirm that

> *the long-range impact of the regression definition of test fairness, the most widely accepted definition, was limited minority hiring; however, as expected this model produced the largest productivity (output) gains...The term adverse impact implies that the test creates a discriminatory impact. But research indicates that the observed differences were created years earlier and are merely revealed in selection (Schmidt 1988). Thus both the connotations of the term and its use as a trigger for discrimination are no longer plausible. New, more relevant concepts and indicators of discrimination are needed.*[1]

While diversity advocates seem to concede that culture and ethnicity are neither "blank slates" nor meaningless human attributes, the attempt to devalue and reorganize proven methods of personnel selection undermines the idea that these differences, when engaged in a variety of demanding tasks, only yield positive outcomes. Hence, the relevance of modifying well-accepted standards of ability and talent is simply to obfuscate the negative effects of actual differences in human traits. It also helps to explain the embrace of "flex time," extended "family leave" and other contemporary workplace trends. One approach in relaxing strict enforcement of punctual work practices, like being on time for work shifts, is for corporations to embrace "flex time" for personnel. Employees who have poor work habits, like tardiness or unexcused absences, are being accommodated with the option of "flex time" — the latitude to put in a given set of hours at your own convenience.

While corporations are reluctant to fully embrace the "diversity machine," as Lynch points out, the business community seems willing to give a wink and a nod toward the concept for obvious reasons. Recent cases like the Texaco settlement have exacted a high price for litigating discrimination claims. In terms of a cost/benefit ratio, corporations may be willing to retain the incompetent and unskilled as a bottom-line price for "diversity" rather than incur higher damage settlements that stem from "discrimination" claims. As Lynch points out, in justifying the need for a more diverse staff, firms end up compromising principles of fairness and merit by passing over more qualified individuals *on account of their culture, gender or ethnicity*. The sort of injustice that anti-discrimination laws were intended to prohibit.

"...in justifying the need for a more diverse staff, firms end up compromising principles of fairness and merit by passing over more qualified individuals on account of their culture, gender or ethnicity — the sort of injustice that anti-discrimination laws were intended to prohibit."

The record of accommodating "diversity" at the expense of competency can lead to disastrous consequences. One recent example of this is the declining quality of the Washington, DC Police Department. Relaxed hiring guidelines, including new exams for testing recruits, have increased the number of minority officers since the mid-1980s. These changes have resulted in some of the most inefficient and corrupt law enforcement practices in the nation. Consider the following:

- The District of Columbia police department, a 3,600 member force, has the highest per capita ratio of officers to residents: 7.1 per 1000, yet it continues to have some of the nation's highest rates of violent crime.
- Approximately 50% of this 3,600-member force lack adequate firearm certifications.
- In the previous year, only 34% of homicide investigations were closed; 49 of 80 homicide

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detectives had not closed a single case.

- 93 officers remain on "paid leave" which total 22,764 days of missed work. Thirteen of the 93 are on leave because of investigations over fatal on and off duty shootings. Other "reasons" for "administrative leave with pay" include: domestic violence (13), assaults (5), child sex-assault/abuse/rape (4), DWI (4), intoxicated on duty (3), sexual misconduct (3), criminal misconduct (3), burglary, excessive force and other charges (46).
- 911 calls are routinely put on hold and nearly 1 in 8 over a five month period (32,216 emergency calls out of 249,373) were unanswered.
- 11 million in grants as well as other funds have gone unspent in past budgets.
- A state-of-the-art $380,000 computer system remains "vastly underutilized" in making ballistics identification, resulting in a backlog of work.

The major factor that explains such levels of corruption and inefficiency within the District of Columbia police force is a disregard for traditional hiring procedures in recruit selection. Initially, the DC police force maintained high standards of recruit qualifications which also limited the available pool of minority candidates. (DC officers once enjoyed a reputation of professionalism.) Under the Barry administration, these guidelines were relaxed and new procedures were implemented that paved the way for higher numbers of minority recruits — a police force that would eventually mirror the DC population base. Officers were selected for the police academy under a "no fail" policy that skirted hiring guidelines, admitting unqualified as well as undesirable applicants.

One flaw in Lynch's otherwise thorough analysis is his decision to exclude from consideration the military's diversity recruitment programs. By scrutinizing the military as a model for diversity and affirmative action, Lynch could have teased out a number of superficial and fallacious arguments about employment testing and racial discrimination that warrant further scrutiny. Since the military is the largest employer that still utilizes aptitude tests in selecting military recruits, why doesn't this employment practice generate adverse impact? If a private firm turned down the numbers of applicants that the military rejects annually over low ASVAB scores, it would have to fend off one discrimination suit after another. By law, the military is exempted from such lawsuits. Why not private firms as well? Why should it be unlawful for corporations in the private sector to utilize equivalent methods in personnel selection?

Although Lynch is correct in noting that the case of the military deserves considerable space, which remained outside the scope of his own study, a detailed chapter that examined the military's policy up close would have enhanced several of his own key points. Nevertheless, *The Diversity Machine* provides rare insights on an indispensable topic — a tour de force beneficial to policy analyst and layperson alike. TSC

NOTE

[1] Schmidt, Frank L., Deniz S. Ones & John E. Hunter "Personnel Selection" *Annual Review of Psychology* 1992, Vol. 43; p. 649.

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The Moral Dilemma

Book Review by Michael W. Masters

With great fanfare, the Clinton administration has launched a series of "race conferences" to do what many Americans privately believe to be impossible, namely to bring about harmony among the various factions of America's Balkanized population. However, rather than fostering a genuine dialog, the administration's "initiative" quickly revealed itself to be a stage-managed fraud. European-American activists who voiced opinions contrary to the reigning orthodoxy were unceremoniously evicted in Virginia and California. So much for dialog.

The *Real* American Dilemma
Jared Taylor, Editor
Oakton, VA: New Century Books
139 pages, paper, $9.95

Americans grown weary of the circumlocutions and patent falsehoods accompanying this most difficult of subjects may wish to avail themselves of *The* Real *American Dilemma* edited by Jared Taylor, editor and publisher of *American Renaissance* — "an undeceived journal on race, immigration and the decline of civility." At its core, the dilemma of race and immigration is a moral one that cannot be papered over by phony, staged events, and it is high time that an element of reality be injected into an often shrill debate. This new book does exactly that.

Taylor himself has had a thing or two to say about race. In addition to publishing *AR*, he has organized two race conferences of his own, the first in Atlanta in 1994 and the second in Louisville in 1996. A third is scheduled for August in Virginia near Washington D.C. *Dilemma* is taken, with one exception, from lectures at the second conference.

Immigration activists will be most interested in articles by Taylor and *The Social Contract's* own Wayne Lutton, both of whom deal at length with the changes it is bringing. If there is one theme that ties these two articles together, it is the astonishing gap between the public's opinion about immigration and the private — and therefore true — beliefs of the great mass of American people.

Dr. Lutton's article is filled to the brim with his usual assortment of well-researched facts detailing the adverse impact of immigration on jobs, welfare and crime as well as the rise of voodoo, animal sacrifice and other signs of growing dysfunction. Taken together, they paint a distressing picture of a society plunging toward disaster. But perhaps the biggest surprise is Dr. Lutton's survey of polling data on Americans' attitudes toward immigration: it is not popular with *any* demographic group.

The Roper poll released at the end of February, 1996, revealed a consensus against high levels of immigration.

- *Eighty-three percent of Americans favored a lower level of immigration than the current average of over a million a year.*
- *Some 70 percent wanted fewer than 300,000 immigrants per year. This view was endorsed by 52 percent of Hispanics, 73 percent of blacks, 72 percent of conservatives, 71 percent of moderates, 66 percent of liberals, 72 percent of Democrats and 70 percent of Republicans.*

Taylor finds confirmation of this sentiment from an entirely different direction: the response of Americans of European descent to the changing character of their neighborhoods as immigrants surround and ultimately displace them.

The details of what happens when the population shifts from white to non-white are interesting, but let us set them aside for a moment and consider something else that is profoundly important — something that everyone knows but rarely says — and that is this: Once the number of non-whites in an area reaches a certain level, whites cannot or will not stay. They refuse to be a minority; they move to some other place where they are once again the majority. This is an empirical, utterly dependable fact and everyone — I mean everyone — knows it.

***Michael W. Masters** writes on issues of history, moral philosophy and politics.*

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Explaining the Inexplicable

But how do we explain this mind-numbing dichotomy between popular wishes and public policy? Dr. Lutton, who elsewhere has suggested the desire of the rich and powerful for docile, low wage workers as a major force behind immigration, fingers the Western infatuation with human rights. This, he asserts, has been universalized to encompass the whole world.

> *For several decades, the concepts of consent, sovereignty, and self-determination have been under assault in Western countries. In the U.S., government agencies and the courts have extended privileges formerly reserved to citizens, such as education, health care, and housing assistance, to aliens whose very presence is against the express wishes of the national community. . .*
>
> *Thanks to the post-World War II emphasis on universal and trans-national rights, distinctions between 'national' and 'alien' are thought to be suspect. The rights of aliens to make claims on the citizens of other countries, stated in terms of 'international human rights,' has played a major role in changing the character of the state and its basis of legitimacy.*

"The craving of multinational corporations for cheap labor helps explain the push for high levels of immigration."

The craving of multinational corporations for cheap labor helps explain the push for high levels of immigration. Indeed, the captains of finance and industry are well able to buy politicians to do their bidding — and entire political parties in the case of the Democrats. But it does not explain why the public has acquiesced to these demands. After all, in a democracy, the majority rules, doesn't it?

Well, as Taylor points out, not necessarily. Not if the public can be coerced or misled into ignoring its own vital interests. Force, of course, will do the trick nicely, as it did in Bolshevized Eastern Europe. But in America, force has not been needed. This begs the question: what mechanism has replaced it? Could it be that people have been convinced that to object to their own dispossession is morally wrong?

> *I think, therefore, that the reason whites are paralyzed in the face of national, cultural and racial dispossession is because they are convinced that it would be immoral to resist. Respect for the other fellow's point of view requires that we do nothing to prevent the country from turning into a colony of the Third World. It is the same impulse that makes whites want to save the snail darter and the spotted owl, or to protect the ozone layer, or believe so fervently in democracy—it is this impulse that prevents whites from acting in their own legitimate group interests. I believe that this is a perversion of what is in fact one of the hallmarks of Western man—his abiding sense of reciprocity. However, when every other race is conscious of its racial interests and works diligently to advance them, any race that does not has committed unilateral disarmament in a dangerous world."*

Taylor voices the bottom line as far as morality is concerned: "[I]t is legitimate to resist demographic change." Indeed, no putative moral framework is valid that urges us to commit suicide to further the interests of others. Nor must we resort to statistics about crime, welfare, lost jobs and the environment—although they are compelling arguments in their own right. The key is that all groups have a right to their unique distinctiveness.

> *What happens when Asians arrive in large numbers? Their effect is different from that of blacks or Hispanics. Some North Asians commit fewer crimes than whites, make more money, and do better in school. . .However—and this is a point I wish to emphasize—*it doesn't matter *whether Japanese or Chinese build societies that are, in some respects, objectively superior to those of Europeans. It matters only that they are* different.

Far from being a moral imperative, immigration is, to the degree that it is destructive of distinct peoples and cultures, a moral evil of epic proportions. Viewed in this light, not only are we not morally obligated to tolerate continued immigration but we are not obligated to live with the consequences of the massive levels of immigration America has experienced since 1965. Those who agree with this viewpoint may wish to study a third essay from *The* Real *American Dilemma* — Michael Hart's "Racial Partition of the United States." TSC

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In Their Own Words

Hispanic leaders condemn America; their quotes assembled by California activists

Booklet Reviewed by James P. Lubinskas

How do Hispanic activists see the future of the United States? *Reconquista!: The Takeover of America* lets them speak for themselves. It contains pages of quotes from university professors, activists and elected officials that betray an openly racialist plan to "reconquer" the Southwestern United States. These leaders understand that demography is destiny and are eager to take power and land from "Anglos." For anyone who doubts that Hispanics are saying these things, or who may simply want to hear the tone in which they discuss *reconquista*, the California Coalition for Immigration Reform (CCIR) offers an audio tape that includes every quotation in the booklet.

Here are excerpts from a few of the quotations.

Professor José Angel Gutierrez of the University of Texas, 1995: "We have an aging white America. They are not making babies. They are dying. It is a matter of time. The explosion is in our population. You must believe that you are entitled to govern.... Don't you find it curious that in the midst of all this harassment and repression that there are those who are saying that they are concerned because we're Latinizing Los Angeles? That there's too many Mexicans here? That we're the biggest national security threat to the United States? I love it! *Se estan cagando cabrones de miedo!* (They are sh*** in their pants with fear.) I love it."

Richard Alatorre, Los Angeles City Council, September, 1996: "[T]hey're afraid that we're going to take over the governmental institutions and other institutions. They're right, we will take them over, and we're not going to go away, we are here to stay...."

Art Torres, former California State Senator and current chairman of the California Democratic Party: "Remember, [Proposition] 187 is the last gasp of white America in California. Understand that. And people say to me on the Senate floor when I was in the Senate, 'Why do you fight so hard for affirmative action programs?' And I say, 'Because you're going to need them [when whites become a minority.'" (laughter)

Gloria Molina, Los Angeles County Supervisor, June 1996: "[W]e are politicizing every single one of those new citizens that are becoming citizens of this country.... And our vote is going to be important. But I gotta tell you that a lot of people are saying, 'I'm going to go out there and vote because I want to pay them back.'"

Antonio Villaraigosa, Majority Leader in the California State Assembly, June 1997: "We know the sunny side of midnight has been the election of a Latino speaker [in the state house], was the election of Loretta Sanchez against an arch-conservative, reactionary, hate-mongering politicians like Congressman Dornan."

Mike Hernandez, Los Angeles City Council, June 1996: "*Somos Mexicanos* (we are Mexicans)! Mexico, some of us say, is the

Reconquista! The Takeover of America
Prepared by California Coalition for Immigration Reform
(714) 921-7142
P.O. Box 2744-117
Huntington Beach, CA 92649
Booklet: $7.00
Booklet and audio tape, $10.00

***James Lubinskas** is the assistant editor of* American Renaissance, *published monthly by the New Century Foundation.*

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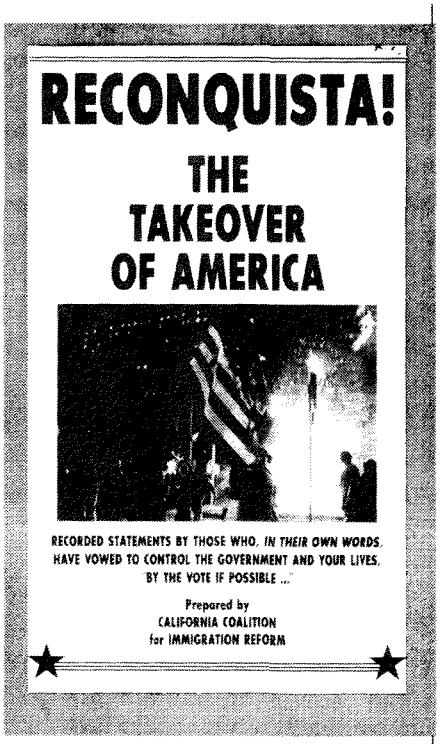
RECONQUISTA!
THE TAKEOVER OF AMERICA
RECORDED STATEMENTS BY THOSE WHO, IN THEIR OWN WORDS, HAVE VOWED TO CONTROL THE GOVERNMENT AND YOUR LIVES, BY THE VOTE IF POSSIBLE ...
Prepared by
CALIFORNIA COALITION for IMMIGRATION REFORM

country this land used to belong to!... We are the future, we will lead the Western Hemisphere.!"

Fernando Guerra, Professor, Loyola Marymount, January 1995: "[W]e need to avoid a white backlash by using codes understood by Latinos but not offensive or threatening to others."

Armando Navarro, Professor, University of California, January, 1995: "[T]ime is on our side, as one people, as one nation within a nation, as the community that we are, the Chicano/Latino community of this nation. What that means is a transfer of power. It means control."

Ruben Zacarias, Superintendent, Los Angeles Unified School District, June, 1997: "And I'll tell you what we've done with the INS. Now we're even doing the [citizenship] testing that usually people had to go to the INS to take, and pretty soon, hopefully, we'll do the final interviews in our schools. (laughter) Incidentally, I started this very quietly because there are those that if they knew that we were creating a whole new cadre of brand new citizens it would have a tremendous political impact."

Meanwhile, on the streets...

Street activists use more colorful terms than elected officials and college professors. Here is Augustin Cebada, a leader of the Brown Berets, on July 4, 1996: "Go back to Boston! Go back to the Plymouth Rock, Pilgrims! Get out! We are the future. You are old and tired. Go on. We have beaten you, leave like beaten rats. You old white people, it is your duty to die. Even their own ethicists say that they should die, that they have a duty to die. We are the majority in L.A.... Through love of having children we're going to take over."

The only non-Hispanic quoted in *Reconquista!* is Vice-President Al Gore. He was the keynote speaker at the 1995 conference of the Southwest Voter Registration Project, which helped speed through one million new naturalizations in time for the 1996 elections. He said: "This President [Clinton] wants to put the 'N' back in INS.... The President and I look forward to hearing your views on every single step we take to create a balanced immigration policy that makes the most of our diversity. We are all the descendants of immigrants, whether our forebears came on the *Mayflower*, or in steerage from Eastern Europe, or walked across an unmarked border in Texas or California."

This excellent little booklet contains photographs of many of the people it quotes, along with samples of the aggressive graphics that Hispanics often use in connection with their cause. CCIR has done a first-rate job of gathering information that is almost never reported. This collection deserves the widest possible distribution. TSC

This is the CD cover for a Mexican rap group that calls for the massacre of whites: "Let's kill whites — like Pancho Villa!"

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Ethnic Empowerment

A textbook for highschoolers

Book Review by Wayne Lutton

The late 1960s witnessed the first calls by Chicano activists and their allies for Mexican American studies in public schools in California and other parts of the American West. They demanded to be instructed in the history and culture of their own people, who they see as distinct from the majority of Americans. Over the years, Chicano Studies courses have proliferated in high schools throughout the West, and, more recently, to parts of the Midwest, South, and East — indeed, wherever colonies of Mexicans have taken root.

Courses require textbooks and so to fill this need, veteran Los Angeles high school teacher Carlos Jimenez wrote *The Mexican American Heritage*. It is used by school districts across the country (last March a parent in Indianapolis, Indiana contacted our office and urged me to read this book, which his teenagers had encountered).

The Mexican American Heritage
Second Edition—Revised
by Carlos M. Jimenez
Berkeley, CA: TQS Publications
333 pages, $39.95

For those unfamiliar with what passes for ethnic studies these days, *The Mexican American Heritage* may contain a few surprises. Its themes include victimization, separatism, and Mexican nationalism.

While White students are repeatedly lectured that "race is an artificial construct" with no meaning, this is not what Mexican Americans are told. At the outset the author affirms, "The concept of 'race' is a difficult yet important subject to discuss. Understanding one's racial background is essential for a clear grasp of a person's true identity." Jimenez correctly points out that Mexicans and Mexican Americans "are directly related to Asian people" who migrated into Alaska, Canada, parts of the Western United States, Mexico, Central and South America. This does not discourage him from mistakenly referring to the descendants of these Asian migrants as "Native Americans" and to claim that the Western Hemisphere was wholly Indian in prehistoric times [from an anthropological standpoint, "Siberian Americans" is a more accurate designation for American Indians, a.k.a. "Native Americans"].

Jimenez includes a section on "Identity." Here the student is informed, "Knowing one's identity is the first step toward realizing one's fullest potential. Having a clear sense of who we are, and why, will prevent us from trying to be something we are not. Knowing one's identity and the history behind it can give one the confidence and pride to look into the future with optimism and hope."

Throughout his book, the country of Mexico is equated with that of *Aztlan*, the name of the Aztec's mythical homeland. While conceding that "the exact location of Aztlan is something about which historians disagree," Jimenez strongly suggests that it included what is today northern Mexico and the part of the United States once claimed by Mexico. The author fails to recount that other historians observe that Aztecs never lived in what is today the American Southwest. Their long lost empire largely encompassed what is now southern Mexico.

To Jimenez, it is essential for students to understand that White Americans stole Aztlan from Mexico. "This," he asserts in Chapter Three, "The Loss of Aztlan," is "territory that, today, could have made Mexico a world power."

Though Jimenez states "all who live here should know exactly how the United States acquired this land, how the current border was drawn," students reading his text are exposed to only one side of the story. "Mexico's lack of organized and effective leadership" coinciding with "land hunger and aggressive actions of the United States" accounts for

Wayne Lutton is the editor of The Social Contract.

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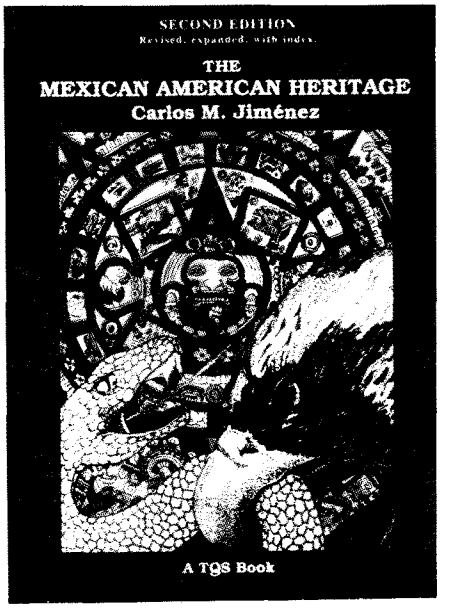
Mexico's defeat. Students are not told that:

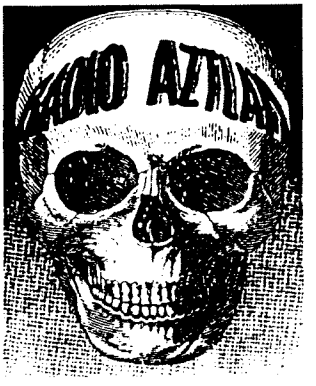
- Mexico declared war against the United States, a war Mexico expected to win;
- France, Britain, and Russia were other powers with designs on the Pacific coast of North America. Mexican claims to this territory were not recognized by other nations.
- U. S. President James Polk was well aware of this intrigue and would have been derelict if he had not tried to counter British and French influence in this vital region.
- When, on July 6, 1846, ships of the U.S. Pacific Command raised the American flag in San Francisco and Monterey, California, they arrived just ten days in advance of a British squadron led by Sir George Seymour in the battleship HMS *Collingwood* of 80 guns.
- In London, British PM, the Duke of Wellington, who had been following this campaign, declared that General Winfield Scott's victory over Mexican dictator Santa Anna was "unsurpassed in military annals. He is the greatest living soldier."
- According to international law, the U. S. was not obligated to pay Mexico for the territory she surrendered claim to. This was an unusual act of benevolence on the part of the American government.



Other topics touched on in *The Mexican American Heritage* are dealt with in like manner. The author frets that Mexican Americans may not be aware that, like Blacks and Japanese, they, too, have long been targets of racist acts by Whites. "It would seem that racism is currently undergoing a resurgence," he adds.

There is no end to the problems that can be blamed on Whites. For example, the author contends that the U.S. educational system is responsible for the creation of Latino youth gangs by "driving a wedge between the youth and their families." Reports of a "Mexican crime wave" have too often been the invention of sensation-seeking and racist news media, according to Jimenez.

Yes, we can take issue with Jimenez's version of history and sociology. But in his section on "The Future of Aztlan," he is certainly correct when he emphasizes that recent immigration patterns are changing the character of California and other parts of the U.S. Southwest. He sees the Mexican, Mexican-American, and other Latino populations becoming the majority, perhaps as early as the year 2000. "The surge in population among Mexicans and Mexican Americans in Aztlan may yet bring many changes other than the obvious cultural ones already mentioned. Since the U. S. is a democratic country, the Latinos are now realizing that the power to control Aztlan may once again be in their hands."



"Radio Aztlan" — one of the many logos illustrated in *The Mexican American Heritage*. This logo is from the MEChA chapter at the University of California—Riverside.

As genuine Americans are displaced from areas they settled in the past, the character of the country will change. "To populate is to govern." This is the most significant underlying message of *The Mexican American Heritage.* TSC

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The Bulletin Board

Immigration on the Internet

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal and THE SOCIAL CONTRACT PRESS are on the internet. Our address is: **www.tscpress.com.**

Our home page gives our mission statement, information about THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, a list of books for sale, editorials from several immediately previous issues which highlight the contents of each, plus the Internet addresses of other groups working on immigration reform, population control and national unity questions.

This home page, www.tscpress.com, also hosts the newsletter of the Biocentric Institute edited by William Dickinson — the Biocentric Institute also has its own web site at <ultralink/net/IAPM>.

Here are some other sites that readers may be interested in exploring. By listing them here The Social Contract does not imply an endorsement of all the material on any specific site.

- English Language Advocates is a national organization working to make English the official language of government: <elausa.org>
- Information about Affirmative Action for Immigrants is shared by Jim Robb at <pw2.netcom.com/~jimrobb>
- Carrying Capacity Network has a new website at <carryingcapacity.org>
- Philip Martin publishes *Migration News* and can be reached at <migration.ucdavis.edu>.
- Professor Norman Matloff has many articles and a great deal of data at:<heather.cs.ucdavis.edu/pub/Immigration/Index/html>.
- Joseph Daleiden heads the Midwest Coalition for Responsible Immigration. His web site is: <enteract.com/~mcri97>.
- *People and Place* is a journal published by the Centre for Population andUrban Research at Monash University in Australia. They can be reached at <swin.edu.au/sbs/pub/pnp>.
- <canadafirst.net> includes much information and thoughtful views from the Canadian Immigration Reform Committee.
- Glenn Spencer leads Voices of Citizens Together at: <instanet.com/~vct>.
- <cofcc.org> reaches the Council of Conservative Citizens.
- GRIP — Georgians for Responsible Immigration Policy: http://micromgt.home.mindspring.com/grip/.
- Aliens in IOWA! Contains an interview with Steve Rapp, U.S. Attorney for the Northern District in Iowa: <fyiowa.com/aliens/alien005.htm>
- PEG is the Political Ecology Group, founders of the "Immigration and Environment Campaign" — a pro-open borders initiative: <igc.org/peg>
- *Mankind Quarterly, The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* — articles and reviews including population, immigration and public policy: <mankind.org>.
- The Aztlan Organization is at <aztlan.org>.
- <fedpub.com/immigration> brings up Federal Publications, Inc. which has a sub-heading for developments in immigration law.
- The American Immigration Lawyers Association is at <aila.org/home.htm>.
- <lrainc.com/swtaboo/> is based on Garrett Hardin's idea of "stalking the wild taboo."
- "Immigration by the Numbers" continues the thrust of Roy Beck's video at <numbersusa.com>.
- <amren.com> reaches American Renaissance.
- *Politically Incorrect — An On-line Magazine* is at <cyad.com/cvgibin/pinc/july97/index.html>.

E-mail addresses for pertinent organizations include:

- <fair@fairus.org> The Federation for American Immigration Reform
- <center@cis.org> Center for Immigration Studies (CIS)
- <103527.3545@compuserve.com> Negative Population Growth (NPG)
- <ccn@igc.apc.org> Carrying Capacity Network (CCN)
- <caps@calweb.com> Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS)
- And, of course, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT's e-mail address is <soccon@freeway.net>.

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G. Daily and Paul Ehrlich *on the loss of wildlife populations*
V. Abernethy *on population planning in a premodern context*
K. Wilson *on the Lysistrata strategy in the postmodern age*
Sandy Irvine *on pro-natalist myths*
William Catton *on carrying capacity*
Roy Beck *on immigration*
Kirkpatrick Sale *on the technological imperative*
Kevin Crooks *on wildlife predation by cats*
Phoebe Wray *on the plight of the whales*
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